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ABSTRACT

Education is the strategic instrument for the overriding aim of Sweden's economic policy--full employment. The fundamental idea of the Swedish school system is to include all citizens. Youth education is intended to take the form of comprehensive, integrated schooling with no dead ends. Adult education occupies a strong position by international standards. Adult and continuing education in Sweden is still an expanding enterprise. Types of formal education are municipal and national education, adult basic education, municipal adult education, and distance education. Popular adult education includes folk high schools and study circles. Other providers of adult education are public and private employers, trade unions, and education enterprises. The national system makes available financial study assistance. Employees have been entitled by law to educational leave since 1975. Various factors influence adult participation: societal determinants, such as the structure and distribution of prior education of the work force; provision of learning options throughout the country; admission requirements; institutional and individual barriers to learning; and the development of an efficient adult pedagogy. The 1980s were characterized by an increasing market orientation and privatization. The educational future of a learning society presents a number of fields and problems with a growing need for more knowledge and information. (42 references) (YLB)

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FURTHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF THE LABOUR FORCE

Country Reports : SWEDEN

Following the OECD Intergovernmental Conference on Education and the Economy in a Changing Society held in Paris in March 1988, the Organisation -- on the recommendation of its Education Committee and its Manpower and Social Affairs Committee -- initiated new work on the Further Education and Training of the Labour Force.

As part of that new work, a number of Member countries agreed to prepare reports, according to a framework prepared by the Secretariat, that would provide for each of the countries concerned an overview of policies, practices, and institutional arrangements regarding the provision of and participation in further education and training of the labour force. The information made available in these country reports, together with other relevant material, will be brought together in a general report on the subject to be prepared by the Secretariat.

This is the report submitted by the Ministry of Education, Division of Adult Education, Stockholm, Sweden.

The Secretary-General of the OECD has agreed to make the report publicly available on his own responsibility.

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Some facts about Sweden (various sources 1986-87-88)

Size of population:
8.4 million inhabitants

Proportion living in cities:
Around 86%

Average life-span:
Men 73.6 years and women 79.6 years

Number of immigrants:
Around 1 million (depending on criteria) or somewhat more than 10%

Size of labour force:
4.4 million

Level of unemployment:
Less than 2 %

Educational investments/GNP:
7.5 %

Gov. educational budget:
62 billion SEK (10 billion US $)

Adult education share:
10.5%

Employers' educational investments:
Appr. 20-25 billion SEK annually

School system:
Comprehensive school of 9 years followed by an integrated system of upper secondary schools for 2-3-4 years(around 95% participation level).

Adult education:
Study circles, folk high schools (residential colleges for adults), adult basic education, municipal adult education, Swedish for immigrants, labour market education, trade union education, in-service training, distance education and special provision for disabled adults.

Participation rate in adult education:
Around 50% and half of the participation rate emanates from in -service training and staff-development programmes.

Growth rate for in-service training:
The volume of employers' sponsored programmes assessed through "education days" increased with 5.7 % between 1986 and 1987 and with around 3% if we calculate number of participants.

THE EXPANDING LEARNING ENTERPRISE IN SWEDEN

Foreword

Education and the Economy in a Changing Society was the theme of the OECD's Intergovernmental Conference in March 1988. As a consequence of that conference, the Education Committee at the OECD decided to take a number initiatives in order to get a more accurate and up-dated picture of the education and training of the labour force. The strategy developed was to collect more information and develop better knowledge in four different areas. Firstly, the educational attainment of the labour force should be described in order to discuss the interplay between educational level and economic performance.

Secondly, the goal was to get a better picture of the investments - both public and private - in education and training of the labour force. Thirdly, attention was focussed on the extent to which adult learning options are dealt with in the collective bargaining between the parties on the labour market. Finally, special attention should be directed towards the assessment and certification of competences.

A number of member-countries were asked to make comprehensive descriptions and analyses of the education and training of the labour force. This report is the Swedish response to the first two areas mentioned above. The third topic has been studied by Albert Tuijnman, institute of International Education, University of Stockholm. In addition to these two studies, Mrs Birgitta Thellman-Gustavsson, Director of education with the AMU-team, has been asked to give some examples of current developments and new technologies used in the teaching and learning process at the workplace with special reference to labour market education.

The main mission of this case study is to describe and analyse the provision of learning opportunities in Sweden for adults, with special attention to the needs of the labour force. The title chosen, The Expanding Learning Enterprise in Sweden reflects different aspects of the phenomenon. Firstly, adult learning is still a rapidly expanding business, although the main growth takes place within employers' sponsored programmes and on-the-job-learning. Secondly, the use of renewal funds and a strong increase of commissioned adult education are signs of more intensive market mechanisms in the Swedish context.

Thirdly, the notion of learning enterprise or learning organisations illustrates the difficulties of deciding what should be

assessed; the provision of formal courses and/or the development of learning environments at the workplace? Finally, the label of learning enterprise has also been used recently by the American Society for Training and Development as a title for a report on education and training in the USA. Even if this concept still is more dynamic than precise, it might be useful for comparative purposes.

This study has been undertaken as a joint project by the Swedish Ministry of Education and and the Swedish National Board of Education. The focus of the study has been discussed together with representatives from the Swedish Ministry of the Labour Market, Statistics Sweden and other relevant authorities. The general conditions of the study have made certain limitations necessary. Firstly, the roles of upper secondary schooling and higher education have been excluded and the time and resources available have been used to describe adult and continuing education with special reference to adults with short educational background. Secondly, it has not been possible to collect new empirical data. Thus the ambition has been to syntesise and present information that in parts and pieces already has been known to different quarters.

Thirdly, it is necessary to underline that this study has no aim what so ever to fully cover the theoretical complexity of the relations between education, training and on-the-job-learning and issues of labour market behaviour and economic productivity. The questions of the enduring individual and societal impact of comprehensive policies on recurrent education and learning enterprises have to be dealt with in more research-oriented studies.

The editorial group is grateful to Mr. Sven Sundin, Statistics Sweden for a generous service-orientation and "just-in-time"-attitude in providing relevant statistical information. One such example is the overview of in-service training on the Swedish labour market presented in the appendix.

The final text is a result of teamwork by Mr.Levi Svenningson, head of the Division of Adult Education, Ms Eva-Stina Hultinger, Head of Section at the Swedish Ministry of Education and Dr Kenneth Abrahamsson, Research Secretary, Division of Adult Education, the Swedish National Board of Education.

Stockholm, November 1989

An overview of Swedish adult education

This case study on the education and training of the Swedish labour force has been divided in four parts. The first section gives an overview of further education and training of adults in Sweden and it starts by outlining some main policy issues such as the search for good professional knowledge, good learning settings at the workplace, principles of priorities for goals and target groups, flexible institutional arrangements, time-policies for the distribution of learning through the life span, new financial contracts between the government, the market and the individual and finally a set of indicators of performance describing different aspects of adult education and learning.

The introductory section continues by stating some headlines of the Swedish full employment policy and its impact on adult education. Quotations from the recent gov. Bill on Education illustrate the need for a better balance between general adult education and employers' sponsored programmes at the work place. The expansion of the learning enterprise at the workplace gives new dimensions to the dilemma of how redistributive goals can survive in an increasingly market oriented system.

Education is not only an end in itself, "l'art pour l'art". One presumption of the Swedish system of post-compulsory education is that high standards of education make the labour force more adaptable to changes and further knowledge-seeking activities. Thus, there is a societal goal in combining a high educational level of the labour force with an even distribution of competence and skills over different social groups.

The first section ends with a short description of the Swedish education system and its relation to adult and continuing education. The different facets of adult education will be drawn in more detail in the second part of the report. Finally, attention is given to some main characteristics of adult education in Sweden such as the distinction of objectives and forms of resource allocation between popular adult education, formal adult education and adult education on the workplace, the provision of adult education in all regions and municipalities, study finance and educational leave of absence and the role of adult education as a part of working life policies and the creation of the welfare state.

Volume and variety of adult and further education

The second section aims at a broad description of the nature, capacity and utilisation of further education and training of the labour force. Before drawing a map and presenting some facts of the Swedish system of adult education, some comments are made on the conditions of comparative studies. One problem of a descriptive approach is that definitions of adult education and learning differs from country to country. Using the Swedish definitions of organized adult learning, it can be stated that more than 50% of the labour force participate in adult learning

during a single year. In a comparative analyses it is, of course, important to know to what extent this high volume reflects a national assessment criterion that is not used in other countries. Another complication is reflected by the variety of societal conditions for adult learning, e.g. demography, economy, culture and political system.

Adult and continuing education in Sweden is still an expanding enterprise. Traditionally, the study circle was the most common learning option, reaching more than 25% of the adult population. Today, study circles are almost exceeded by employers' sponsored programmes, where more than one employee in four participates in learning. In both cases, these figures comprise part-time studies or short courses. Folk high schools or residential colleges for adults and municipal adult education are both reaching somewhat less than 5% of the labour force.

Labour market training is each year given to 2-3% of the labour force, adult basic education to less than 0.5%. Other forms of adult learning for special target groups are Swedish for immigrants, programmes designed to meet the needs of functionally disabled adults, distance education and trade union education. In addition to these figures, it has to be mentioned that more than 50% of the participants in higher education are adults above 25 years of age.

Factors influencing adult participation

The third section has a more analytic approach and foccusses on factors influencing provision of and participation in further education and training of the labour force. Attention is given to a number of societal determinants such as the structure and distribution of prior education of the labour force, the provision of learning options through the country, admission requirements, institutional and individual barriers to learning and the development of an efficient adult pedagogy.

One of the main objectives of Swedish adult and continuing education is to enhance equality of opportunity. Bearing this goal in mind, it is reasonable to look at the learning conditions for adults with low educational standards. Furthermore, the objectives and impacts of the adult education reforms of the 70s are discussed in more detail. Finally, some comments are made on the institutional pattern and organisational structure governing and influencing the determinants of adult participation. To illustrate this "power structure", the section ends with a broad description of the costs of adult education in Sweden.

The market for further education

The fourth section outlines the market for further education and training of adults. It is no secret that the 80s have been characterised by an increasing market orientation and privatisa-

tion even in the field of adult education. Persistant public spending constraints have called for new forms of resource allocation. The increased market orientation in adult education could, besides the rapid expansion of employers' sponsored programmes, be illustrated by three political decisions all taken in the mid-eighties.

Firstly, the parliament (Riksdagen) reformed labour market education in order to make it more responsive to market changes and also more cost-efficient. Secondly, the Swedish Riksdag opened bridges between general adult education and workplace learning by permitting more commissioned or customised education from the public sector adult education. Thirdly, a decision was taken during the late autumn of 1984 to create renewal funds by cutting 10% of the extraprofits of big enterprises in the private sector. This section also reflects the views of the different parties on the labour market on important conditions for adult learning in Sweden. Finally, some concluding ideas are presented on the needs for future competence development and elevation of educational standards to meet the expectations of an increasingly knowledge-intensive society

The learning society as a territory for research

The final section lists and discusses problems related to the learning society as a territory for research. There is an urgent need for further sophistication of the comparative approach by giving more attention to the cultural context and value-systems of different forms of adult education. Further methodogical discussion and development are also needed where the assessment of volume and variety is concerned. Attention also has to be paid to images of adult education options in different quarters. Another field of interest concerns the social limits of learning in relation to high- or low competence ceilings and space for self-initiative in different learning settings.

How do different member countries of the OECD guarantee their citizens learning rights through the life span? What time-policies are being developed for the distribution of work-time, vacation, parental leave and "learning time"? Policies for time-checks or vouchers for paid learning also raise questions of who pays and who benefits. Does the growing demand for better skills and higher educational standards of the labour force call for new contracts between society, the market and the individual learner?

Finally, the report stresses the need for a new set of indicators of performance in the transition to a learning society. Attention can no longer be confined to formal institutions of adult education,it must also include the description or assessment of the learning impact of corporate classrooms and the introduction of learning enterprises. A more market oriented and market-responsive system of adult learning also raises the issues of credit assessment, credit accumulation and credit

transfer. In this respect, the Swedish system might have been too formalistic and could benefit from the lessons from other countries with better developed traditions in recognising prior learning.

The future development of adult education and learning in a post-industrial society cannot be analysed solely in the context of current institutional pattern of education. Further studies do not only have to look deeper at the expanding learning enterprises at the workplace, they must also analyse the educational impact or learning obstacles created by too sectorised and too unreflective non-educational policies. In a learning society, the rights to free knowledge seeking and competence development have to be guaranteed by more institutions than the traditional education society. It is, in fact, a responsibility and a mission that should, at best, colour all human activities, the right to work not excluded.

SECTION I

OVERVIEW OF FURTHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF ADULTS IN SWEDEN

1.1 Introduction and purpose

The purpose of this study is to give a broad description of the objectives and institutional arrangements of the education and training provided for the Swedish labour force. The intention is to do this within the context and content of the outline provided by the OECD Secretariat. In a comparative venture of this kind, there is always a risk of giving too much space to ideals and policies at the expense of programmes and practices. In order to avoid this risk, the ideological and normative background of Swedish adult education is presented in this first chapter.

The following three chapters have a more descriptive focus aiming at an overall picture of objectives, legal arrangements, institutional patterns and the provision of learning options both for and at the workplace. The final chapter is intended to outline some issues for further research and clarification.

The primary aim of this case study is to present background material to the OECD study on education and training of the labour force. In this respect, Sweden as well as the other countries studied, will form part of an important comparative mission on the development of learning societies in a post-industrial era. Another objective is to collect and synthesise facts and figures on Swedish adult education in order to stimulate the national debate on adult learning at the workplace. Having this second objective in mind, it is also possible to say that the case study presented in this report touches on the following policy dimensions:

i) What definitions of generic knowledge, professional competence and occupational skill have to be developed in order to meet the needs of an increasingly knowledge-intensive production? How could the knowledge span be described both within the production system as such and with special consideration to the necessary knowledge split and specialisation for certain groups? Thus, our first policy mission is the search for answers to a number of epistemological issues relating to good educational standards and quality of knowledge and skill in a learning enterprise.

ii) The curriculum and educational design have to be worked out in order to build a dynamic interaction between the educational background and chains of job experience of the wage-earners and the need for a constructive inflow of new knowledge and new skills. To what extent can concepts such as experiential learning or co-operative education be useful in this context? Will future working-life education have space for formal education and training or should more value be focused on the notion of learning jobs or learning organisations? Our second policy mission reflects the search for good learning contexts for/or at the workplace.

iii) Which groups should be given priority in the further education and training of the labour force? The young and formally well-educated or the older worker with a lot of job-experience and tacit knowledge? The corporate executives and leaders, managers and market-making people, administrators and technicians, skilled workers or labourers? Men or women? Immigrant or native people? Full timers, part-timers or individuals with flexible work schedules? Full-time employed persons or those who are unemployed? And what about functionally handicapped persons? Our third policy mission aims at the search for a set of good principles of how to give priority to different learning goals and target groups.

iv) Which educational channels should be used to reach these groups - the formal system of adult education, non-formal provision, corporate classroooms or on-the-job learning? Our fourth policy mission summarises the search for good institutional arrangements to facilitate a long-term-oriented upgrading of the educational level, competence and skill of the labour force.

v) Which learning conditions should be provided for different target groups - relating both to the work and life-schedule and to the life-span as such? Learning during working hours, paid educational leave, studies in leisure time? A guaranteed amount of "learning days" during one year or a longer period of time, that could be used on any suitable learning occasion? Our fifth policy mission concerns the search for principles as to how the learning time should be distributed through the working day or week, the working year and over the individual's total life span.

vi) Who pays and who benefits from an increasing investment in adult learning at and for the workplace? Public expenditures, trade unions, employers or the individual? Our sixth policy mission touches upon the search for a good financial set-up between governmental subsidies employers' investments in education and training and the learners' own economic contribution.

vii) And, finally: how can we assess the value of and the long-term impact of different efforts to develop education and training of the labour force? Its function for employment, for job development, a preparation for structural changes and a capacity to move within internal labour markets or between external markets? Finally, our seventh policy mission is the search for a set of indicators of performance and research programmes in order to better clarify the volume, content, costs and impact of the education and training of the labour force.

1.2 Education and training as a part of the full-employment policy

The right to a job and the opportunity of earning one's own living, of enjoying companionship at work and of taking part in the common productive effort of the community - these are fundamental necessities to every individual.

The willingness of people to work is every nation's prime asset. It is through work that the goods and services we need are produced. It is aggregate production that decides the wealth of nations and the prosperity of peoples. The human work does also a great deal to decide how the results of production are to be distributed. All experience testifies that there is nothing so conducive to great economic and social injustice as unemployment and under-employment. Conversely, nothing contributes more effectively towards the equalisation of living standards and welfare than employment evenly shared and distributed. Society - here in the meaning of public policies, then, has an obvious responsibility where full employment is concerned. One of the longstanding aims of economic policy in Sweden has been to create work for everybody.

This means mobilising and qualifying the productive resources of the human labour force, whatever the economic situation.

Education is a strategic means to this end, and Swedish education policy has always been closely linked up with labour market policy.

The Swedish Labour Market

Full employment is the overriding aim of Sweden's economic policy.

By international standards, Sweden has made considerable progress towards this aim. At the same time as unemployment is lower than in most other countries, a larger proportion of the population are employed in the open labour market than in any other OECD country.

Sweden's higher level of employment is above all due to the high level of economic activity among women.

Women's definitive entry into the labour market over the past 20 years is one of the great social revolutions to have occurred in Sweden. Already by the beginning of the 1990's, there may well be just as many women as men in the Swedish labour force.

In a recent study (Employment Outlook 1988), the OECD showed that the proportion of GNP devoted by Sweden to labour market policy programmes is no larger than in most other countries. But the profile of resource deployment - the focus of policy - in Sweden is different.

Sweden devotes 70 per cent of resources to active measures -

placement, training, rehabilitation and job-creation measures - and 30 per cent to cash handouts of various kinds.

In most other countries, the reverse applies, with 70-80 per cent going on cash handouts and 20-30 per cent on measures to help the individual to enter or re-enter the employment sector.

An active labour market policy, then, is no more expensive to the State than a passive one, but active measures help to achieve a higher level of employment and lower unemployment.

High employment and low unemployment in themselves contribute towards a constant up-skilling of the labour force at work. An ambitious employment policy elevates the competence and flexibility of the work-force.

Education is the strategic instrument for disseminating knowledge and competence. Education open to all comers, therefore, is essential to a policy of universal employment.

1.3 New learning horizons on the workplace - some current Swedish policies

Current changes in working life suggest that this connection between education and employment is destined to become more dominant than ever.

In highly industrialised countries like Sweden, developments are moving towards a working life in which people's knowledge, competence and capacity for co-operation are the main factors of production. Devising procedures for training and developing employees at work, through general adult education and personnel training and through the more extensive creation of "learning jobs" tends to be of prime concern of national policy-making as regards both the labour market and education. In the Budget Bill put before the Swedish Riksdag (Parliament) in January 1989, the then Minister of Education raised this point. The following is an excerpt of what he had to say on the subject (Budget Bill 1989:100 app. 10, page 15 to 17):

> "One reason is the general need to retain public and political influence and insight in the education which in future will constitute a vital foundation of our continuing material prosperity. Questions concerning the view taken of knowledge and the distribution of educational opportunities are too important to be left entirely to the representatives of working life.
>
> Another reason is the fact of generous adult education opportunities for the individual providing an alternative to personnel education controlled by employers and vested interests. It is in the nature of things that one of the prime objectives of personnel education should be to equip employees with the specific skills and competence which the company, the national authority or the local authority requires in order to function properly in both the short and the long term.

Personnel education, then, is an important instrument to any farsighted enterprise in its strategic planning for the future, but inevitably it will be confined within the frames dictated by the operational targets of the enterprise. The personal needs, aspirations and preferences of the individual are by no means certain to coincide with the purposes of personnel training at his or her particular workplace.

A third reason is that the scope of personnel training to a great extent depends on the economic capacity of the individual employer. In future, as hitherto, personnel training is likely to bulk largest in profitable concerns. This type of distribution of educational resources, of course, would not be acceptable to the individual, nor would it be appropriate from the viewpoint of the community. General adult education is therefore needed to correct skewness in the employment sector, skewness which will exist between individual companies, between different industries and between different regions.

A fourth reason is the aim of general adult education to achieve an equalisation of education gaps. This distributive goal must remain paramount from the viewpoint of society.

The demands made on adult education are intensified by democratic developments. The next few years will bring a decline in the numbers of young persons entering the employment sector, women's employment participation rate will come still closer to men's and there will be a rise in the average age of the labour force. This means that labour resources will have to be conserved. With a smaller amount of new skills being put into production, due to the smaller number of young persons entering the employment sector, great importance will be attached to the up-skilling of established employees. Every year, as a result of immigration, Sweden's population is acquiring people of different ages with neither Swedish education nor Swedish working experience. All this further underlines the necessity of adult education. We already have a situation where the renewal of the labour force through the entry of young persons amounts to merely two per cent annually.

This growth rate is diminishing with the numbers of young persons - a trend which will have to be offset by stepping up educational efforts on behalf of those already in the employment sector."

The minister of education ends his overview of adult education by stating;

"Thus the need for greater skills and competence in the labour market will mean heavy demands on adult education in future, not only in Sweden but also internationally... Swedish adult education, therefore, is one of our great national assets. There must, however, be more to adult education than the training of the labour force. Adult education also has important tasks with regard to consolidating and developing general civic knowledge, an important

> consideration not least in the changing society of today and tomorrow. It also has important tasks in relation to individual personal development and a full cultural life, characterised by the extensive and profound involvement of all members of the community."

In the introduction to its budget requests for the 1989/90 fiscal year, the National Board of Education deals at length with the subject of adult education for the 21st century. The NBE ends its review of futures issues in adult education by referring to the necessity of drawing up a development programme for Swedish adult education. A first outline to such a programme is presented in the NBE's new budget request for the fiscal year 1990/91. The NBE's draft development programme for general adult education reflects a determination to respond to the changing conditions affecting the long-term planning of adult education.

> "The conditions for a reform of schools and adult education have been transformed in essential respects over the past two or three decades. Decentralisation and management by objects are two key concepts characterising this transformation. Instead of ready-made, fully financed reform packages preceded by extensive enquiries, changes - and funding as well, for that matter - are being effected successfully.
>
> A long-term development programme for general adult education in the 1990s could help to revitalise and strengthen the organisation and resources existing today. This is one way of elevating the development potential and future preparedness of adult education to cope with possibly more thoroughgoing changes towards the end of the decade. A development programme could help to facilitate management by objectives and a better resource utilisation in this sector. In addition, it could open up paths towards the infrastructure for adult knowledge retrieval and learning which, from the point of view of the individual, is perhaps the most vital objective of reforms in adult education."
>
> NBE AF 90/91, p.27

One special concern is to obtain good examples of ways in which formal adult education and free, voluntary popular education today are operating in the four sectors referred to in the first draft development programme. These fields are the improvement of basic skills of adults, expanded regional availability, wider opportunities for education at work, and adjustment to demands for greater depth and specialisation.

The development programme, however, is not limited to these four categories. Other examples of interesting fields of development may be adult studies in the light of new technology and distance education, information and guidance for new adult students, the question of adult pedagogical methods and the in-service training of adult teachers, supervisors and study circle leaders. Examinations, evaluation and follow-up in adult education are other potential subjects of development work.

A deeper discussion is needed of ways in which a possible development programme can be viewed as part of a wider strategy of

renewal for Swedish adult education. Certain experience should be obtainable from other countries. A comparison between the Nordic countries, and above all with Denmark and Norway, will be of special interest here. In addition, experience should be canvassed from two more European countries and from the USA, Canada and Japan.

Adult Education as a Subject of Inquiry

There is hardly any part of Swedish adult education which is not being subjected to investigation, reappraisal and analysis for reform. The reasons for this are not only to be found in growing future demand following in the wake of the learning society. Constraints of government finance coupled with increased management by objectives and decentralisation also help to account for the necessity of a deeper futures analysis. The Government has in fact instructed the NBE to carry out a closer scrutiny of resource utilisation and results in Grundvux (basic education for adults) and Komvux (municipal adult education) and in other respects to consider the conditions for renewal in general adult education.

The future conditions and straitened financial circumstances of the adult education associations are currently being studied in a consultative process involving the Ministry of Education and the organisations affiliated to the National Swedish Federation of Adult Education Associations. The report entitled The Adult Education Association and the Nineties(in Swedish only), compiled at the NBE in 1988, forms part of these discussions. The Folk High School Committee now in session recently presented a collection of facts and debate articles on Folk High School, What is happening to Folk High School? A book of facts and debate from the Folk High School Committee (SOU 1989:97:in Swedish only), which is being widely distributed to all folk high schools as of an informal colloquy.

Both the NBE and the National Audit Bureau (RRV) have recently evaluated the new organisation and working methods of Swedish language instruction for immigrants (SOI). It is also worth mentioning that the Committee on Schools for Mentally Retarded Adults has now entered a concluding phase of its deliberations. A special study group has been set up at the Government Chancery in order among other things to discuss the feasibility of more efficient co-operation between upper secondary schools, municipal adult education and employment training (AMU).

This latter initiative has been prompted by the growing importance of commissioned education to various educational mandators, and also by the pedagogical and resource-related benefits which the pooling of facilities and other equipment may offer to a sometimes over-sectorialised model of adult education.

Finally, we may add that both LO (the Swedish Trade Union Confederation) and TCO (The Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees) have put forward demands for one-two weeks' personnel training during paid working hours and for entitlement to a substantial upskilling of disadvantaged groups. The demand for one week's paid leave of absence for personnel education is discussed in the governing party's programme for the 1990s. The

specific directives issued to the various national authorities also make it clear that the Government intends putting forward a programme of adult education at the beginning of 1991.

1.4 The Swedish system of education - a short background

The Swedish school system has been radically reformed over the past 20 or 30 years. The level of aspiration has been high, in terms of both quantity and quality. The fundamental idea is for the school system to include all citizens and for youth education to take a form of a comprehensive, integrated school with no dead ends. In principle, all young persons have to add at least two years schooling at upper secondary level after completing nine years in the compulsory school. After this initial education, they should have free access to further education in the form of specialised, vocational educational higher studies. An adequate system of adult education is intended to bridge the gaps between generations and to provide opportunities of recurrent, lifelong education.

i) Compulsory school

The nine-year compulsory school has been introduced and expanded since the end of the 1950's. It did not become fully operational through the country until the beginning of the 1970's. Since the principle is for all pupils to have the same opportunities of good basic education, Sweden has changed from an educational system characterised by segregation and selection to a comprehensive, integrated compulsory school.

ii) Upper Secondary School

Upper secondary schooling was reformed during the late 1960's and early 1970's, when three distinct forms of high school - gymnasium, continuation school and vocational school - amalgamated to form an integrated upper secondary school with three-year theoretical and two-year vocational study programmes. Upper secondary school is now approaching a third stage of development, in which the two-year vocational lines will be superseded by three-year lines in which a wider programme of general subjects will be combined with work experience. All lines of upper secondary school are to confer general eligibility for higher education.

In the mid-1970's, only about 70 per cent of pupils went on from compulsory school to upper secondary school. Today practically all youngsters apply for upper secondary school, and the great majority are admitted. There are, however, a number of distinct patterns where the educational choice is concerned. Children of manual workers and junior salaried employees tend far more often than children of senior executives to opt for vocational programmes, and the respective choices of girls and boys comply with sexual stereotypes.

iii) Higher education

Higher education was reformed in 1968. The next reform, in 1977, created a uniform system of higher education.

All post-secondary education in Sweden was brought within the higher education system, and given uniform, overriding objectives, a single planning system and a national system of management. Wider admissions to higher education, regionalisation, the creation of general study programmes and self-contained courses, distance teaching etc. have opened up universities to other strata of the population than those traditionally recruited. Adults above 25 years of age are in majority in many study programmes and most separate courses in higher education (see Abrahamsson, 1986 and 1989).

iv) Adult education

Adult education in Sweden occupies a strong position by international standards. More than 50 per cent of the national adult population take part in some form or other of adult education in the course of a year.

The figure below illustrates the Swedish educational system.

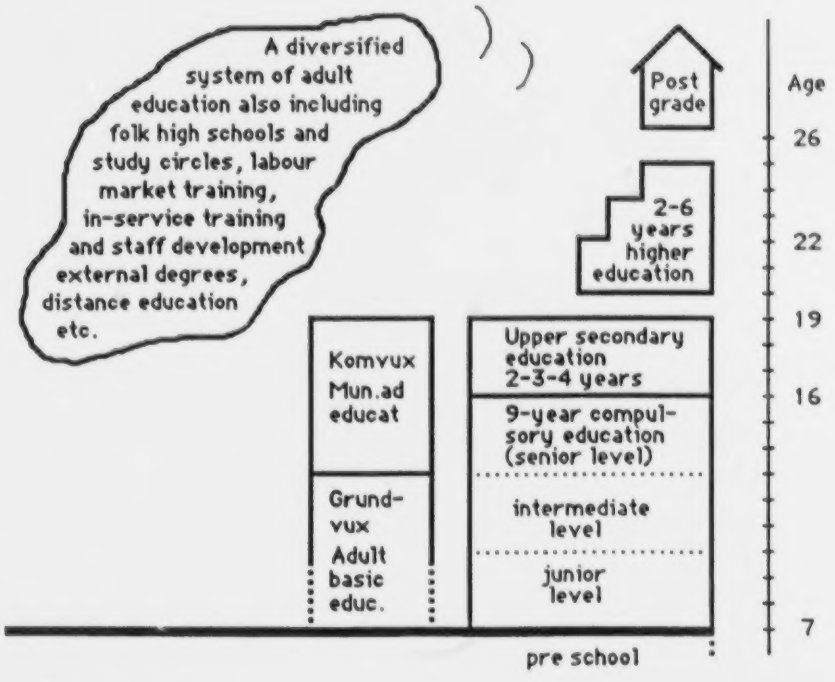


Figure 1. Adult education as a part of the Swedish system of education

1.5 Provision of adult education and learning

1.5.1. Goals of adult education

All adult education organised or subsidised by the State, whether credential or non-credential, is subject to goals of educational policy defined by the Riksdag.

Adult education, then, has the following aims:

1. To bridge the education gaps and in this way promote greater equality and social justice.

2. To increase the ability of adults to understand, critically appraise and take part in cultural, social and political life and in this way contribute towards the development of a democratic society.

3. To train adults for various duties, to contribute towards the transformation of working life and to help achieve full employment, in this way promoting development and progress in society.

4. To cater to individual adult preferences with respect to wider opportunities of study and education, and to give them an opportunity of supplementing the education received in their formative years.

In principle, adult education is open to all adults and to groups spontaneously turning to it, either as a means of improving their general knowledge of one or more fields or because they find it necessary to improve their competence in the community or at work. These studies are often of a wide-ranging, basic character, and above all they provide persons whose youth education was brief and insufficient with an opportunity of raising their general level of knowledge.

1.5.2 Different forms of adult education

The traditionally strong position of adult education is partly connected with the large number of mandators. Study circles, for example, are organised by eleven adult education associations whose members include all the leading popular movements. The folk high schools have more than fifty different mandators.

These many different mandators operate independently of each other, and so there are very good prospects of the total mass of activities corresponding to the many different needs existing among adults. The numerous mandators, as well as their affiliations to popular movements, also provide opportunities for wide-ranging involvement and for widespread, active recruitment.

Ever since the 1960's, the Swedish authorities have actively supported various forms of adult education, the aim being to bridge educational gaps and provide opportunities for current education. Adult education, just like youth education, has to be organised in such a way as to be generally available to all

comers, which means that special resources have to be earmarked for the educationally disadvantaged. The union organisations of manual and salaried workers, LO and TCO, have played an active part in spurring social reform.

Adult education is a manifold concept. One possible basis of classification is the distinction between formal or credential adult education, popular education and personnel education. A fourth type, including elements of both credential and personnel education, is labour market training or employment training.

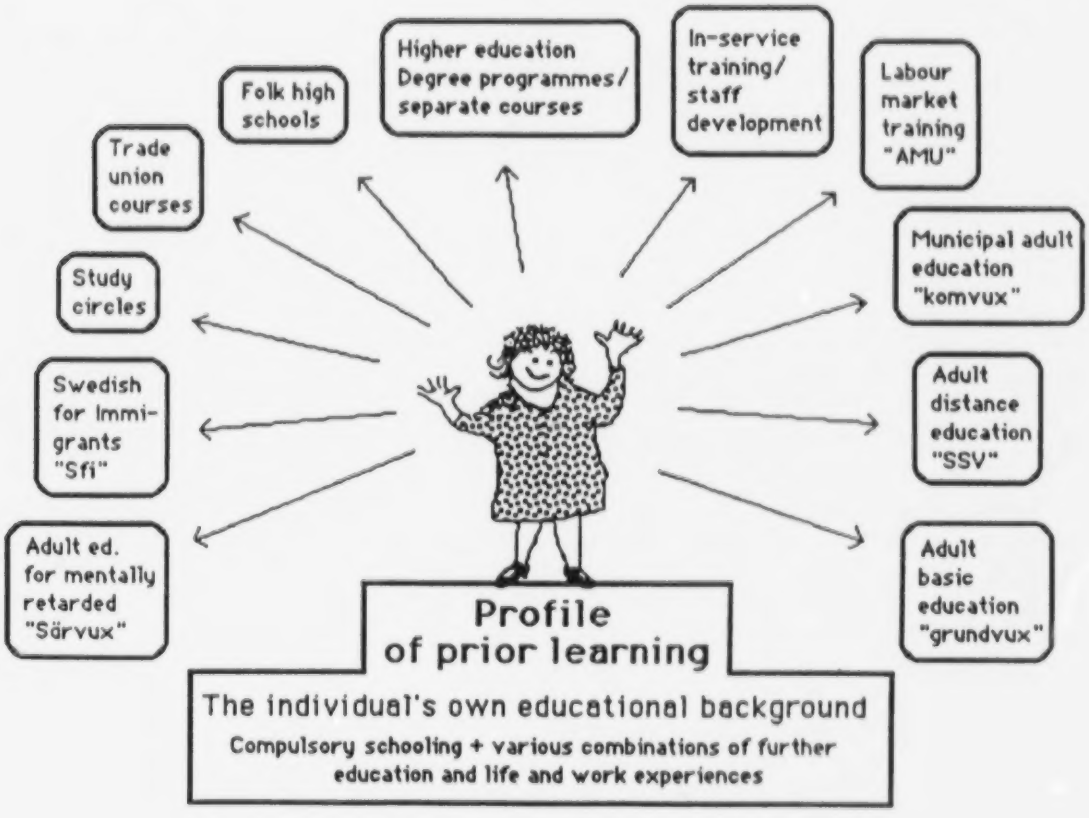


Figure 2. The provision of adult education opportunities in Sweden (not adapted to the proportion of the volume of different forms of adult education).

i) Formal adult education

Formal adult education comprises basic education for adults (grundvux), which is operated by means of authorities with State grants, and municipal adult education (komvux). This type of education can also be taken to include basic Swedish language

instruction for immigrants. Formal adult education is above all aimed at giving adults a chance of making up for deficiencies in their previous schooling and of qualifying for further studies, for vocational education or for employment.

ii) Popular adult education

Popular adult educational activities, comprising studies at folk high schools or under the aegis of adult educational associations, are partly State-subsidised. To qualify for subsidies, the education has to meet certain general conditions, but otherwise the mandators are at complete liberty to decide the emphases and content of educational activities for themselves.

The abundant variety and generous availability of popular education also make it possible to reach those who would otherwise not go in for educational activities. Popular education has the declared objective of developing basic democratic values in society. This education confers knowledge and skills, but perhaps its main importance lies in strengthening the self-confidence of the participants, increasing their understanding and respect for other people's opinions and in this way contributing towards the democratisation of society.

iii) Labour market training

Sweden has a very active labour market policy, aimed at sustaining full employment. Labour market training is an important measure for the prevention and solution of unemployment problems. Mostly it takes the form of specially organised vocational training, but it can also make use of the regular educational system.

iv) In-service training and staff development

Personnel education or in-service training, in the present context, can be defined as the education which concerns employees and is organised on the employer's terms and at his expense in companies and national and local authorities. Decisions relating to personnel education, then, are made by the employer, but the trade unions are able to exert various degrees of influence. Sweden does not have any legislation governing entitlement to or influence on personnel education, but agreements on the subject have begun to develop between the labour market parties.

There is no comprehensive information available concerning all personnel education in Sweden, and there are great gaps in our knowledge regarding the scope of different educational influence.

Labour force sample surveys (AKU) are regularly undertaken in Sweden by Statistics Sweden (SCB), which is a national authority for the compilation of statistics. According to an AKU survey report in 1987, more than one million persons or just over 25 per cent of the employed population took part in some form of personnel education during the first half of that year.

There are great differences between categories of employees. In terms of union membership, 20 per cent of LO members, 38 per cent of TCO members and 48 per cent of SACO members (SACO being the national organisation of graduate employees) were involved in personnel education. This imbalance becomes even more pronounced if we take into account the duration of education. The already well-educated receive twice as much personnel education as others. The average per member and year in this respect is 2.3 days for LO members, 4.3 days for TCO members and 6 days for SACO members. A summary of a recent study by Statistics Sweden on volume and participation of in-service training in Sweden is presented in the appendix.

1.6 Adult education in Sweden - some main characteristics

The purpose of this introduction has been to present some of the ideological principles of Swedish adult education, with special emphasis on a labour-market perspective and on a general distribution of the organisation and content of adult education in Sweden.

There are of course several other possible ways of describing Swedish adult education to an international audience. One way is that of referring solely to the good intentions and the overriding objectives. Another is to describe as exhaustively as possible the goals, content and participants of the various forms of education. In this connection, however, it may be appropriate to try and summarise some of the main institutional conditions governing adult education in Sweden.

There are three important, basic conditions which have to be met in order for gainfully employed adults to be able to engage in educational activity of more than a recreational nature. There must be an adequate range of educational opportunities, the individual must be able to finance his or her educational activity, and there must be some form of guarantee concerning leave of absence from work.

The State in Sweden has assumed responsibility for all three of these fields and has tried, by various means, to establish the necessary preconditions of adult educational activities.

i) Adult education in all municipalities

All citizens, regardless of residential locality and social status, have - at least from a formal sense - equal access to adult education. The creation of municipal and national adult education - a parallel organisation to youth education - gives adults an opportunity of acquiring the same competence and formal qualifications as are conferred by youth education. The direct support given by the State to popular education, in the form of extensive subsidies for both study circle activities and folk high schools, has given popular education an internationally unique position.

Both formal (credential) and popular education have, as a result of public support, been established throughout the country. State

subsidies also make it possible for education to be provided at very little charge or none at all. The broad geographical distribution of learning opportunities, does not imply, however, that traditional obstacles to adult learning, such as lacking self-confidence, restrictions of study-assistance, cross-pressure of different social expectations of adults etc do not operate in Sweden.

ii) Broad Provision of Study assistance

Sweden has opted for a separate system of educational leave of absense and various social and financial benefits for students. Thus at all educational levels the individual first applies for an educational programme and is then able, through the study assistance schemes, to obtain coverage of personal expenses. "Study Assistance"(studiemedel), consisting of a small grant and a larger loan, is something to which all members of the community are entitled. For gainfully employed adults, in addition, there is special adult study assistance, which is partly income-related and is intended to make up for loss of earnings. This latter benefit is applied for on a benefit basis and priority is given to the educationally disadvantaged. Participants in labour market education programmes are entitled to a special educational grant (utbildningsbidrag), that not has to be repaid.

This ability to finance studies by means of separate social benefits gives the individual a rather free choice of educational form and speciality.

iii) Law of Educational Leave of Absense

The Swedish legislation, guaranteeing entitlement to educational leave, underlines individual liberty in the educational situation. Thus all gainfully employed persons are entitled by law to educational leave, without any restriction as regards its duration or the choice of studies. The employers cannot reject such an application, but he has the right to postpon the studies for six months at most.

iv) Studies as Part of the Renewal of Working Life

Adult studies and learning also occupy a prominent position in the reform of working life. The Shop Stewards Act, the Co-determination Act and various collective agreements entitle trade union representatives to devote time to studies during paid working hours. Just as labour market policy is vitally important to adult education, questions concerning job content and control of working life, as well as the working environment, have a crucial bearing on learning interests and further educational activities.

Workplace training in the form of personnel education is in fact the sector of Swedish education which has grown most rapidly in recent years. Working life as a setting for educational activities and learning is expected to expand further in the future, partly as a result of the greater emphasis being put by employers on competent development and learning organisations instead of conventional courses and in-built education programmes.

v) Adult Education an Expression of General Welfare Policy

Finally, adult education can be viewed as an important element of general welfare policy. A high level of knowledge and education benefits both the individual and society. Opportunities for adult studies and the free acquisition of knowledge must be open to all members of the community. High education standards of the labour force can be regarded as a basis for the full-employment policy. Provision of day-care opportunities, social support and an efficient public transportation are other conditions for a broad participation in adult learning.

In the following pages, more detailed accounts will be given of educational opportunities, educational finance and education leave.

SECTION II

THE NATURE, CAPACITY AND UTILISATION OF ARRANGEMENT FOR FURTHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF THE LABOUR FORCE

2.1 Some comparative points of departure

Any comparative study of educational systems in different countries is bound to involve great problems of method. Where adult education and learning are concerned, the situation is even more complicated than with comparisons of youth education, because more often than not we are here faced with institutionally divided activities occupying the point of intersection between various powerful interests, such as state, market and popular movements.

A systematic checklist of variables relevant to case studies is a necessary but insufficient precondition of comparisons being feasible between different countries. One problem, however, is that terms can have different meanings in different countries, added to which there are great international differences concerning the way in which statistics and other experience relating to adult education are collected and recorded.

Some conceptual clarifications are necessary to facilitate an international understanding of the Swedish context. Certain concepts of Swedish adult education have to be translated indirectly, because of a lack of corresponding terms in English. One example is the Swedish folkhögskola above translated as Folk High School. The Swedish folk high school, it should be emphasised, is a residential college for adults, and is not to be confused with the American High School. Another concept is the Swedish word folkbildning, which refers to study circles and folk high schools. It is a form of adult education oriented towards collective knowledge ideals of popular movements. Educational initiatives by the trade unions are the most common examples of a collective oriented adult education in a working life context.

The traditional dichotomy and tension between education and training is also found in the Swedish discussion, but mainly reflected through the terms bildning and utbildning. Bildning is related to the German word bildung, but there is no corresponding single term in English. Liberal education, cultivation and education will come close to the Swedish concept. Thus, the English word education is broader than the Swedish word utbildning. There is also a Swedish word for training, namely träning, which mostly is used for the development of very specific skills.

Behind these conceptual clarifications are a number of epistemological questions on what kind of education, knowledge and skill that should be provided at the work place as well as how the knowledge setting could be described from a more theoretical point of view. Such analyses are indeed relevant for the further development of policies of recurrent education and ideas

on learning enterprises. Unfortunately, this challenge has not been possible to be realised within the context of this study.

Another restriction is that these ideas and concepts exist in different cultural settings. Behind each single figure or statistical diagram, there are several structural, economical and cultural factors that must be taken into consideration in cross-national comparisons. What lessons could be learned from studies on the educational systems of other countries or visits to them in order to learn more about the way they work? The recently published Encyclopaedia of Comparative Education (Postlethwaite, ed., 1988) gives many perspectives on these issues showing that a comparative mission can never result in simple yes-no answers.

In 1900 Sir Michael Sadler wrote an article on: "How far can we learn anything of practical value from the study of foreign systems of education?" after a study visit to Germany. His conclusion was that one learned more about perspectives and values, but not specific methods. In a more modern comparative approach it is necessary to develop some educational indicators to describe and compare the phenomenon which is to be studied.

2.2 In search for adult education indicators

The notion of a learning enterprise (LE) tends to be a rather vague concept in comparative studies. In this context, a learning enterprise is an institution or organisation that promotes :

a) A work setting, where the competence and skill of the employees are important production factors

b) A work setting, where the opportunities to learn and develop through adult education are widely spread among the employees and last, but not least

c) A work setting, where the job-construction and the design of production organisation give the employees good options of on-the-job learning and skill-formation.

Thus, there is no contradiction between the support of an adult education model and the development of a learning enterprise. On the contrary, many examples show that the implementation of learning organisations requires a high level of education among the employees. In order to be an active partner in the work-learning process, basic skills and social competence are necessities. In addition to that, the employee has to have his or her own core of occupational knowledge and skill.

The Swedish Work Environment Fund has recently evaluated a comprensive development programme on new technology, working life and management. Forty different companies and administrative authorities contributed with their own development activities. The book Towards a Learning Organization presents an overview of how training programmes interacted with organisational changes within the context of learning enterprises.

This study raises the need of a discussion on how should we develop criteria and methods to illuminate and assess the LE. Do

we mainly describe the volume and structure of the formal adult education system or do we want to draw a map of the educational opportunities at the workplace provided by the employers? Is LE primarily an organisational perspective focussing on job-related learning settings? Which are the underlying ideas of a learning enterprise? To what extent is the need for skill development and up-grading of competence supplemented with a corporate socialisation aiming at an increasing personal identification with the general purpose and goals of the enterprise? A further analysis of the manifest and latent functions of in-service training and staff-development programmes might shed light on these questions.

What is the division of learning benefits, costs and responsiblity between skill formation and on-the-job learning, internal education programmes and the employees participation in external adult education? And what role does the increased level of customised adult education play in this context? Different definitions of LE also imply various assessment criteria and methods of evaluation. In the long run, it is the challenge of developing more permanent indicators of performance.

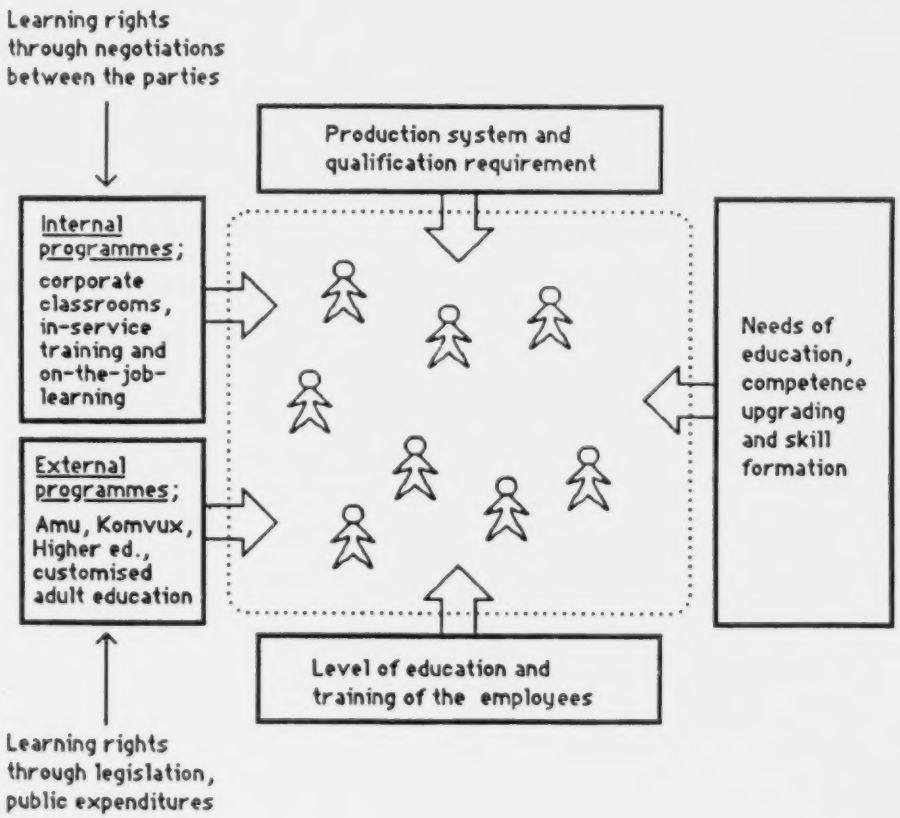

Learning rights through negotiations between the parties
Production system and qualification requirement
Internal programmes; corporate classrooms, in-service training and on-the-job-learning
External programmes; Amu, Komvux, Higher ed., customised adult education
Needs of education, competence upgrading and skill formation
Level of education and training of the employees
Learning rights through legislation, public expenditures

Figure 3. Adult learning at the work place

A special problem lies in the conditions of a comparison of the size of the LE between two or more occasions. Two Swedish cases might illustrate this problem. The first is the comparison of the growth rate of employers-sponsored programmes between 1986 and 1987. There are at least four different ways of assessing the growth rate of LE between the two years.

The first criterion is the difference in the proportion of the labour force taking part in employers-sponsored programmes. The second criterion refers to the growth rate,i.e. the increase of participation between 1986 and 1987. The third method of assessment looks at the average length of courses, while the fourth approach takes average course-days into consideration. In one of these cases, the result will also be a decline of in-service training. Thus, it is a crucial question to define and chose methods of assessment.

The second example concerns the general growth of the Swedish system of adult education the last two decades and the balance between general adult education and employers' sponsored programmes. One way of illustrating this development is to point at the level of governmental funding and compare it with corporate investments. Another method is to compare the volume of the system by describing the number of individuals and participants in different forms of adult education. Looking at a period from the early 70s to the late 80s, it is apparent that there has not been a linear and progressive growth of Swedish adult education.

The public funded adult education expanded best during situations of free and automatic resource-allocation. Municipal adult education had its peak in the mid-80s, while study circles were at the highest level in the mid-70s. After a strong decline in the beginning of the 80s, partly due to a changed system of resource allocation, study circles are now expanding again. The level of longer course at folk high schools have been rather stable the last decade, but there has been a tremendous growth in shorter courses. Adult basic education have expanded from 5.881 participants in 1980 to 22.150 during the fiscal year 1987/88.

The volume and profile of labour market education usually reflect the demand and supply situation on the labour market. It has had a very strong expansion from the beginning of the sixties (from 10.000 participants annually) to it reached its peak in the late 70s (with 50.000 participants annually) and it has now stabilised at a lower level. In-service training and corporate classrooms are the most expanding parts of Swedish adult education. Different methods of assessment in various studies make it difficult with comparisons over time. Some empirical data indicate that the provision of in-service training varies according to the economic situation on the labour market. Using data from the AKU-study there is some evidence from a strong growth during the 80s.

Other sources point at a relatively high level of in-service training during some years in the 70s. It would be interesting to test the hypothesis of a complementarity between public and private investment in education and training for the work force the last two decades. To be more explicit: are labour market

training programmes increasing during and employers' programmes decreasing during so called bad times and retrenchment?

Today one of four or around 25% takes part in adult education provided by the employers. Even though, the methods of assessment differ there is a very strong increase. The same goes for customised adult education programmes. Both these trends signify a stronger market-orientation towards the beginning of the 90s. Looking back over a period of two decades, it is obvious, that Sweden like many other Western countries already has passed the breaking point where employers' educational investments exceed the public expenditures.

If we focus on the provision of adult learning opportunities as well as the access to these educational opportunities, we have to describe both the institutional pattern and the composition and change of the (adult) student population at different levels. Starting with this ambition, the following questions might be relevant to answer for different countries:

i) How do we define the level of education of the labour force? What is the percentage of individuals with a background of higher education in the labour force today and what projections can be made for the forthcoming two decades? (In Sweden it was 15% in 1986 and might be 21% the year 2010).

And what is the relative proportion of employees, who have less than nine years of formal schooling (In Sweden it was 23% in 1986 and will be about 4% in 2010).

ii) Which are the most important indicators for an educational elevation in society? The length of the educational main stream for young people? The upgrading of employees at the workplace or the transition to higher education? What is the transition rate from upper secondary schools to higher education in different countries and what projections can be made for the coming two decades? (In Sweden the transition rate varies between 21% and 33% depending on assessment criteria).

iii) How can we assess the organisational response to an increasing demand of adult education? What balance should be aimed at for a broad general provision of various programmes on the one hand and more earmarked strategies to fulfil the needs of special groups and interests on the other? To what extent can the individual move between different learning settings without being caught by too many obstacles and formal restrictions? What is the inflow of adult students from alternative access channels to different programmes and courses in higher education?

What is happening on the workplace and the notion of "corporate classrooms?" To what extent can prior learning of a non-formal character be recognised in the formal system? What indicators could be used to classify different learning settings (part-time, credit or non-credit, degree-subcourse or single unit, classroom or workplace, computerised,

distance, lectures, project and group work and self-studies etc.).

iv) What is the relative proportion of "priority groups" in formal and non-formal adult education in comparison to the population as a whole (women, immigrants/ethnic minorities, disabled, adults with short formal education, etc.) Also, which objectives should be set for the next century?

v) Which are the different forms of financial study assistance for adults? How is leave of absence for purposes of studying guaranteed in different countries?

2.3 Basic statistics

Statistics Sweden (SCB) and the National Board of Education have jointly attempted to chart the total volume of regional distribution of adult education in 1986. Some tables from the extensive material thus compiled will be presented here.

Percentages and other figures in the tables cannot automatically be aggregated. There is likely to be a certain overlap, with people involved in more than one form of education during a single year. This is particularly true of the two largest forms of education, viz the study circle and personnel education, which dominate adult education and each involve 27 or 28 per cent of the population annually. Both types provide relatively short-term educational programmes. A study circle usually comprises 25-30 study hours, plus homework. Personnel education, on average, was conducted for 6 days or about 50 hours. The following chart shows the relative sizes of the different forms of adult education, in terms of the number of persons studying during a single year.

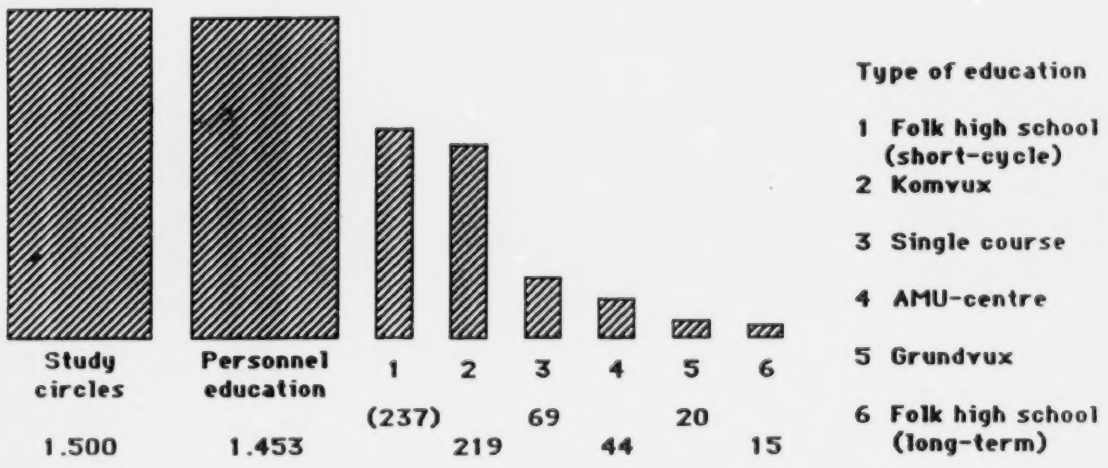


Diagram 1. Volume of adult education in 1986 (1987). Number of persons (in 1000s) for various education forms.

Another interesting feature of Swedish adult education is the relative proportion of men and women in different programmes. In total, there is a women majority in participation. In vocationally oriented programmes as labour market training and employers' adult education, there are more men than women.

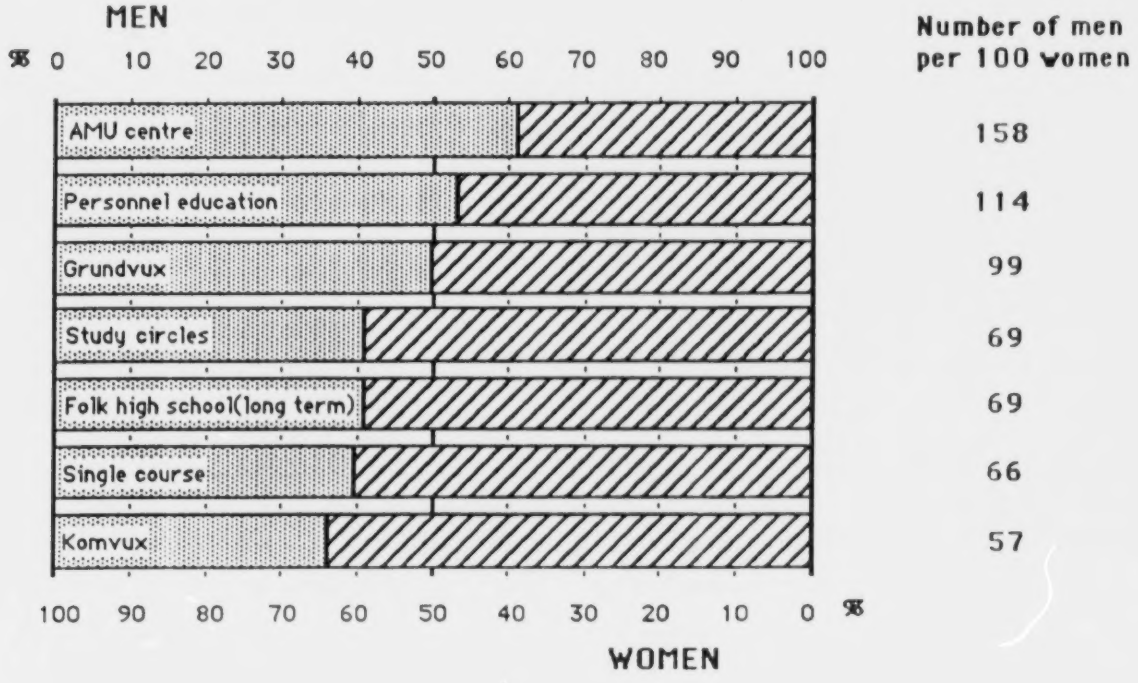


Diagram 2. Distribution of men and women in adult education

Adult education in Sweden is widely distributed at regional and local levels. Here again, as can be seen from the maps below, there are great regional variations as regards different types of adult education, study circles, grundvux and komvux are available in practically every municipality, whereas folk high schools, employment training and higher education courses involve travelling within the county.

Distance teaching is another educational alternative now being developed in Sweden. In addition to national distance teaching at upper secondary level, there are joint arrangements by universities and folk high schools, as well as courses run by Educational Broadcasting. In fact, around 10% of the separate and short-cycle courses in higher education are provided as distance education. Some initiatives have also been taken in using distance education for further training of various professional groups in science and the social sector.

Formal adult education 1986 (-87)
325,000 approx

County breakdown
Grundvux Komvux
Folk high school (long-term)
Single course (post-secondary)

Non-formal adult education 1986 (-87)
3 million approx

County breakdown
Folk high school (short-cycle)
Study circles Personnel education
AMU (employment training) centre

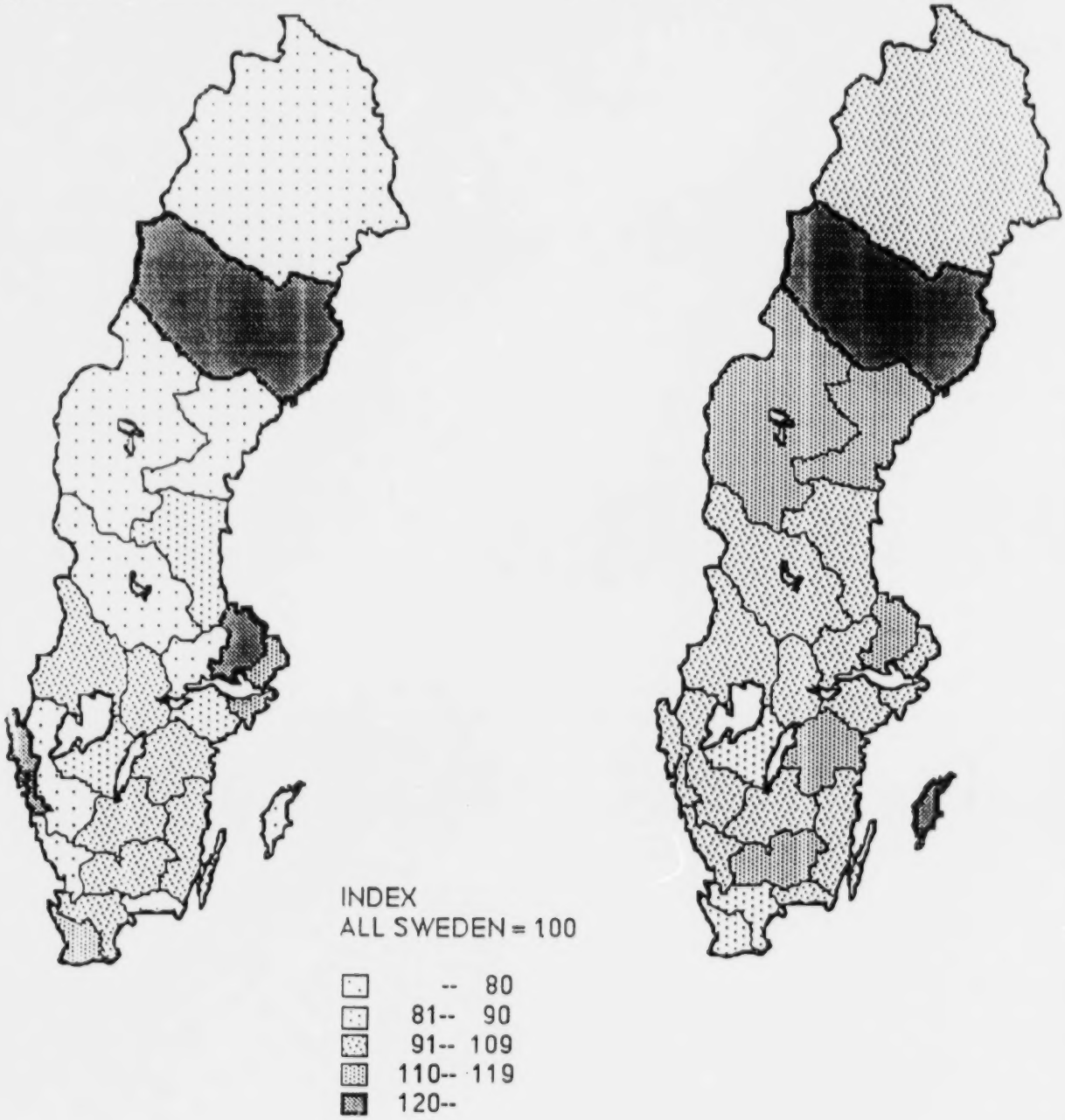


Figure 4. The regional distribution of various forms of adult education in Sweden (Source: Statistics Sweden,1988)

Describing the volume of adult education in different countries is no simple task. What is expressed, for example, by the Swedish volumetric figure of more than 50% taking part in some form of organised studies during a given year? One cannot simply work out the number of individuals per type of educational activity, because one and the same individual can take part in several kinds of educational activity during one and the same year.

Another important factor is the duration of studies. If, for example, one were to ask adults whether they spent at least between one and three hours last year learning something new, one would presumably obtain quite high, but still uninteresting quantifications of educational activities. It is quite misleading to try and convert study circle participation into some form of full-time or whole-year equivalents.

From a comparative view it would, however, be exciting to find out how large a proportion of working hours is devoted to personnel education and personnel development. Certain estimates in Sweden suggest that 2-3 per cent of working time is devoted to education and development, though with a very great deal of variation between different industries, and between different occupational educational groups.

It may be even more interesting to try to describe the scope and direction of studies needed in order for the individual to be able to move from one level of competence to another. To be more specific: what proportion of the "educational active" adults in the labour force will up-grade their formal competence according to accepted standards of educational qualifications?

This problem also involves the question of the importance which should be attached to the life and work experience possessed by adults and the extent to which knowledge thus acquired can take the place of formal training and theoretical schooling; this is something which will be increasingly required in the knowledge-intensive society.

Financial support to adult education

Another troublesome volumetric concept is that of expenditure on adult education. In Sweden, the cost of general adult education accounts for roughly 10 per cent of the budget of the Ministry of Education, but at the same time we know that the estimated cost of personnel education under private and public auspices greatly exceeds this amount.

The following table shows State Grants to adult education and educational finance in the 1989/90 fiscal year.

Purpose	MSEK
Municipal adult education	1,211.6
National schools for adults	28.3
Adult education associations	1,191.8
Swedish language instruction for immigrants	331.7
Folk High School	564.9
Central course activities	39.4

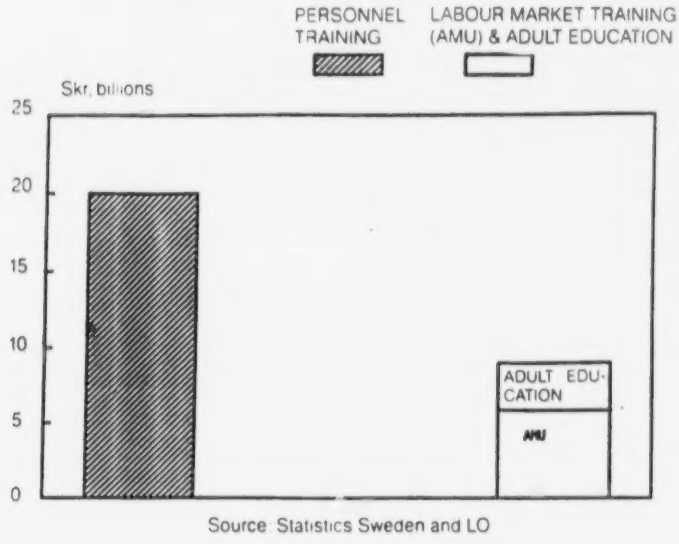
Escort interpreter training	4.1
Adult study assistance	1,245.0
Hourly compensation	132.7
Labour market training (training allowances included)	5,400.0
Total	10,149.5

A further MSEK 2,000 or so are spent on study assistance, a great deal of which goes to adult students. In addition to these costs it is necessary to add investments from municipalities and county councils. Unfortunately, there is no overall picture available of these costs.

Furthermore, there are no accurate statistics of costs of employer-sponsered educational programmes, but the following chart shows figures, which have been presented by LO.

Estimated costs for in-service training and state financed adult education.

ESTIMATED COST OF PERSONNEL TRAINING AND STATE FINANCED ADULT EDUCATION. 1987



Source: Statistics Sweden and LO

Note: Personnel training costs have been estimated at Skr 200:- per course hour. Labour market training and adult education costs are the state expenditure only.

Figure 5. Comparison between public expenditure and employers' investment for adult education and learning (billion SEK, Source: LO 1989)

The costs for in-service training are estimated to 200 SEK per education hour. The costs for adult education and labour market training includes only state expences.

2.4 Formal adult education

2.4.1 Municipal and national education for adults

Municipal education for adults includes basic education for adults (grundvux), municipal adult education (komvux) and adult education for the intellectually handicapped (särvux). Komvux is supplemented by national schools for adults (SSV), which provide distant teaching. The State grant for all these activities totals some MSEK 1,240 for the 1989/90 fiscal year.

2.4.2 Adult basic education (Grundvux)

Ever since 1977 it has been the duty of every municipality in Sweden to organise grundvux commensurate with actual needs. This education is intended for persons who lack the basic skills of reading, writing or arithmetic. Roughly half the participants are immigrants.

Grundvux participants normally study half time or less, i.e. 15 hours per week. They receive an hourly payment. This hourly compensation takes the form of loss of earnings compensation for those who take time off from work in order to study, or else a small incentive payment for persons who are not gainfully employed.

There are at present some 24,000 participants, roughly half of them women.

2.4.3 Municipal adult education (Komvux)

Komvux has existed since 1968. It offers adults education leading to formal qualifications in individual subjects or to the equivalent of a complete compulsory school or upper secondary school leaving certificate. Komvux also includes vocational education, corresponding to the vocational programmes of upper secondary school, and in addition it includes certain vocational courses which are not available in the youth sector. Komvux is available in practically every municipality in Sweden, but the smaller municipalities offer only very limited selection of courses.

Komvux confers knowledge and skills equally those conferred by youth education, but it has its own syllabi, and an effort is made to adjust these to suit adult students. The volume of teaching is reduced compared with youth education. The subject-course system makes for great flexibility and gives students an extensive choice of subjects and subject combinations. Studies can be pursued on a full-time, part-time or leisure-time basis, students can take one or more subjects and they can pursue intensive studies in one subject or else parallel studies of several.

These studies lead to credential leaving certificates. There are no special admission requirements; students are admitted as far as there are places available, and they decide for themselves whether they are able to keep up with the courses. The number or participants in the course of a half-year total some 310,000. More than 60% of them are women.

2.4.4 Distance education

As a supplement to municipal adult education there are two national schools for adults(SSV).These SSV schools follow the same curriculum as komvux, but instruction is partly or entirely by correspondence. Both schools run full-scale correspondence courses. Participants are recruited from all over the country and the schools cater above all for students who live in rural areas, have irregular working hours or suffer from a disability which makes it difficult for them to get to a municipal school. The SSV schools are also specially responsible for uncommon subjects and courses, and for vocational training programmes for out-of-the-way occupations or for new branches of enterprise and activity.

The number of students in the course of a school year totals roughly 14,000.

2.4.5 Adult education for functionally handicapped adults (Särvux)

Särvux became a county council responsibility in 1988. This education is for adults who, being intellectually handicapped, are unable to take part in grundvux and komvux. Särvux corresponds to the education provided in special compulsory schools for intellectually handicapped children.

The various forms of municipal and national adult education come under a special Adult Education Act (1984:1118).

2.5. Popular adult education

2.5.1 Folk high school

Folk high schools or residential colleges for adults are Sweden's oldest form of adult education. The first of these schools were founded as long ago as 1868, as a means of providing a landed agrarian class with the education it needed in order to discharge various public responsibilities. By the end of the 19th century these schools were receiving State grants, and this today is their principal source of income.

There are 128 folk high schools in Sweden. About half of them are run by mass movements, such as the labour movement, the temperance movement and various free church denominations. The others are operated by municipalities and county councils. In all cases, the bulk of expenditure is covered by State grants. Running grants to folk high schools for the 1989/90 fiscal year total was MSEK 565.

Folk high schools enjoy extensive powers of self-determination as regards the direction and content of tuition. They organise long-term courses which can last for several terms and also short-cycle courses lasting for a few days or weeks. Every school has to organise at least one long-term course of general studies in order to qualify for a State grant.

Many schools organise courses in a particular subject field, e.g. art, drama, music, languages, immigrant studies, Third World

affairs or youth leadership. Certain folk high school courses confer eligibility for post-secondary education.

Together with other popular education mandators the folk high schools organise short-cycle courses, often at weekends.

Folk high school activities are mainly governed by a Government Ordinance, the Folk High School ordinance (1977:551). The folk high schools choose their own teaching staff and set their own qualifications. There is, however, a national training programme for folk high school teachers.

Candidates for folk high school must be at least 18 years old and must have completed compulsory schooling or its equivalent. Folk high school is often organised on a residential basis, with the students both living and taking their meals in school. Tuition is free of charge but the students pay for their own board and lodging. State study assistance can be payable.

Folk high schools have about 18 000 students on long-term courses and some 240 000 taking short-cycle courses every year. The long-term courses attract almost twice as many women as men, whereas women make up roughly one-third of the participants on shorter courses. Most participants are between 19 and 29 years old.

2.5.2 Study circle activities of the adult education associations

Sweden has a number of nationwide adult education associations whose activities above all comprise study circles, though they also engage in cultural activities. There are 11 adult education associations which qualify for State grants. The largest of them is the Workers' Educational Association (ABF), which accounts for one-third of all activities. ABF belongs to the labour movement, and other adult education associations are also affiliated to political or trade-union movements or to popular movements, such as the free churches or the temperance movement. This link with the popular movements is based on the adult education associations standing for the same ideas as the popular movements, added to which the adult education associations play an important part in the training of members and officials and also in the organisation of studies relating to topics of prime concern to the popular movements.

Study circles are organised in a very large number of subject fields. Altogether in 1985/86 there were some 290,000 study circles, covering the following fields:

Art, music and drama	36%
Social science/information	18%
Languages	15%
Behavioural sciences/humanities	9%
Mathematics/science	7%
Medicine, health care	3%
Technology	3%
Business economics	2%
Other subjects	7%

A very large proportion of Sweden's adult population takes part in study circles, viz 27-28 per cent or more than a quarter of the adult population every year. The number of participants per annum totals roughly 2.5 million, the reason being that many people belong to more than one circle. Nearly 60 per cent of the participants are women. The age structure is relatively even, the largest participation rate being in the 24-45 stratum. There are no special qualifications for joining a study circle. Some circles are free of charge, but for the majority a fee is payable. Persons taking part in a study circle during working hours can apply for a special form of State short-term study assistance to cover their loss of earnings.

Study circle activities are distributed relative evenly throughout the country.

State grants for the 1988/89 fiscal year total some MSEK 1,120.

In addition to circle activities, State grants are also paid to the adult education association for cultural activities in voluntary organisations and for outreach activities. This latter grant enables the adult education associations to train special activation officers who visit people in their homes to tell them about and recruit them for educational activities.

These activities come under a Government Ordinance (1981:518) concerning State grants for study circles etc.

2.6 Labour market training

Labour market training, or employment training, is an important part of Sweden's active labour market policy. This form of education was created in the 1950s, but it developed mainly during the 1960s and 1970s. During that period some 100 training centres were built up in various parts of the country.

The purpose of labour market training is, through rapid and flexible educational influence, to adapt the qualifications of jobseekers to actual labour demand. This training provides a form of support for persons at a disadvantage in the labour market, while at the same time making it easier for employment offices to fill vacancies. Labour market training often takes the form of bottleneck training, ie. training programmes for key areas where there is a shortage of skilled labour.

Some labour market training takes the form of support given to employers for the training of employees. This also gives the Employment Service an opportunity of referring replacements for the person who is being retrained or in some other way obtaining a quid pro quo from the individual company for the training grant repaid.

Most training takes the form of special courses at the employment training (AMU) centres. Until 1986 these AMU programmes were administered jointly by the National Board of Education and the National Labour Market Board (AMS). AMS decided the scope and quality of training and its facilities, while the NBE was responsible for curriculums and day-to-day operation and personnel. These activities were funded entirely by means of State grants.

Employment training was re-organised in 1986 and a special authority, the National Employment Training Board, set up to take charge of it. AMU is conducted on a commercial basis; training is purchased and sold, mainly to the labour market authorities. The Board comprises a central directorate and 24 county employment training commissions, which in turn are responsible for upwards of 100 training units. Both the central and local commissions include representatives of the labour market parties. There are also reference groups for the various sectors in which training is organised. These groups comprise representatives of unions and enterprise.

Altogether during the 1987/88 fiscal year, the AMU organisation provided 1,275 million course weeks, 1.25 million of which were commissioned by the National Labour Market Administration. Nearly half the training fields focus on industry. Other major fields are administration, office skills and services, mainly catering.

Most of these training programmes are foundation courses for a particular occupation. There are no formal admission requirements. Generally the participants have an opportunity of making good any gaps in their theoretical qualifications in the course of their vocational studies. There is a high level of curricular flexibility. Students are admitted successively, and they join continuous study programmes either individually or in small groups. An individual plan of studies is drawn up in consultation with each participant.

Employment trainees qualify for financial benefits which are geared to unemployment insurance and thus related to previous earnings.

During the 1980s some 100,000 individuals annually, corresponding to roughly 2 or 3 per cent of the labour force, have received education and training through the labour market authorities.

2.7 Adult education organised by public and private employers

2.7.1 State training schemes

Many national authorities provide basic specialised training as well as subsequent and further training for their employees. In-house training is extensive and is conducted in many different forms, eg. daytime classes, residential courses and correspondence studies. The Post Office, The National Telecommunications Administration, the Swedish State Railways, The National Police Board and the defence establishment are among the national government workplaces offering a wide range of in-house training.

The National Telecommunications Administration, for example, has its own education unit, Televerket Utbildning, which develops, conducts and follows up training and education for Administration employees. The overriding objective here is to provide in-house training specific to the Administration. Every employee devotes, on average, 7 days a year to some form of training or education. Training expenditure totals some MSEK 630 per annum.

The Swedish State Railways (SJ), as the name implies, are a State-owned utility. SJ has by tradition maintained a wide range of in-house training, on account of the specific competence and the special duties which its activities involve. General education simply does not provide the vocational training required by trainees, e.g. motormen, guards and signalmen.

SJ's basic training follows on from compulsory school, but most of the employees recruited for in-house training today have upper secondary school qualifications, frequently in technical subjects.

At central level SJ provides roughly 20,00 training days annually and approximately the same amount of training is provided at regional level through regional personnel offices. The educational budget for 1988 balanced at MSEK 270, which was 2 1/2-3 per cent of the total SJ budget. All training and education take place during paid working hours.

The Post Office has the task of delivering letters, parcels and payments from everybody to everybody and of providing a banking alternative, above all for the general public. In common with other State utilities, the Post Office has a long tradition of in-house personnel training. In connection with a re-organisation recently, a long-term personnel development strategy was adopted and presented. The Post Office is investing some MSEK 300 per annum or 190,000 training hours in its personnel development. Basically all employees are receiving some form of vocational training on the job, followed by continuous development.

The national government service has a special personnel training agency, the National Institute for Civil Service Training and Development (SIPU), which is a central service authority for the development of competence within national government activities. This training is operated on a commercial basis, and is mostly financed by means of direct charges. SIPU's budget for 1987/88 totalled MSEK 69.3, of which MSEK 7.2 took the form of a State grant, MSEK 8.0 was derived from Government assignment and MSEK 54.1 referred to assignments from other national authorities. The national government sector has a personnel strength of some 420,000. During the spring of 1987, there were 161,000 or 38 per cent taking part in some form of educational activity.

2.7.2. Education within county councils and municipalities

The main responsibility for the caring and service sector in Sweden is vested in municipalities and county councils. Through the education system, the State is responsible for basic vocational education for caring and social services, but not for direct personnel training. The latter, however, can be provided within the regular education system, in the form of commissioned education or through an employee taking part in education organised by the community during working time paid for by the employer.

County councils and municipalities, then, are responsible for the subsequent and further training of large groups of personnel. The various county councils are affiliated to the Federation of

County Councils and the municipalities to the Swedish Association of Local Authorities. Both organisations provide a certain amount of central training, above all in the form of leadership training and management development. Otherwise the different county councils and municipalities themselves are responsible for training their own personnel.

The county councils are also the mandators of municipal higher education, which trains personnel for health and medical services. Certain folk high schools come under county council or municipal mandatorship.

No comprehensive study has been made of the scope of personnel education in the caring sector. The county councils have generally delegated training questions to the base units, ie. the various hospital management districts. These are responsible for training in technical, medical and ethical matters. At the base units there are some 400 appointments for directors of studies, their tasks being to plan and arrange courses and to support the personnel development activities of the base unit.

In 1985 the Federation of County Councils circulated a questionnaire to all county councils and in this way ascertained that they were devoting some 10 per cent of their total budget, ie. about MSEK 400, to educational and cultural purposes. The main item of educational spending was training for nursing assistants. This is because most county councils have adopted a resolution of principle to the effect that nursing assistant qualifications are also to be the lowest level of training for paramedic appointments.

The municipalities too make their own personnel training arrangements, and both educational needs and educational inputs can vary a great deal from one municipality to another. Generally speaking, a great deal is invested in the training of supervisory staff and management.

The Municipality of Norrköping, a medium-sized community in central Sweden, can serve as an example of municipal training expenditure. In 1989 the municipality will be introducing a new organisation of 12 sub-municipal authorities, and in this connection it has conducted or is planning training measures for the steering groups, for supervisory personnel, elected representatives, secretarial and clerical staff, school catering personnel, switchboard operators and trade union officials.

The annual municipal training programme also includes courses in leadership, information technology, administration and information, personnel administration and the working environment. The various courses are organised as study circles or as short-cycle courses occupying 10 full or half-days.

In recent years the municipalities, like the county councils, have experienced a heavy need for personnel training in the caring sector, partly because of rising standards of service and quality in this sector, and also because the personnel situation is making it necessary to devote active efforts to personnel developments and personnel welfare. The labour market must be prepared for a diminishing intake of newly qualified young

persons, which means that more will have to be invested in established employees. Particularly relevant training fields for the municipalities are home help services for the care of the elderly and disabled and child care services.

In the child care sector, the Government Child Care Commission (1974) referred to the desirability of all personnel receiving 30 hours' in-service training per annum. A survey of the in-service training situation in fifty municipalities during 1987 showed that most of them fell short of this level. A new system of State grants for child care, introduced on 1st January 1988 includes incentive measures for the encouragement of municipal in-service training measures.

There are no central recommendations on training where caring services for the elderly and disabled are concerned. According to a questionnaire survey of municipalities in 1985, plans for basic and subsequent training were lacking in 60 per cent of them. SCB statistics indicate that roughly two-thirds of the total number of nursing auxiliaries employed in home help services have received some kind of in-service training in 1986.

The county councils and municipalities have a combined personnel strength of about 1,240,000. In the spring of 1987, 29 per cent took part in some form of personnel education.

2.7.3 In-service training and staff development in the private sector

No comprehensible information is available concerning personnel education in Sweden, and our knowledge concerning the scope of different educational imputs is very incomplete. Then again, the existing qualifications of personnel education are generally confined to the type of education provided on more a classroom basis and do not include all the various forms of learning which occur on the job or through more or less unorganised forms of training, supervision, job rotation, instruction, study visits etc.

The AKU surveys referred to previously show that 584,000 men and 526,000 women took part during the first half of 1987 in education paid for by their employers; this was 6 per cent up on 1986. In other words, roughly a quarter of all private sector employees received some form of training. As can be seen from the data in the introductory overview, however, this education is very unevenly distributed. Senior executives received twice as much education and training as manual workers. These differences are accentuated if the duration of educational training is also taken into account.

The number of persons taking part in personnel training is greater in the public sector than in the private sector.

Personnel training is more widespread in service enterprises and authorities than in industry. For example, 40 and 38 per cent of banking and insurance company employees respectively took part in personnel training, as against 21 per cent in the manufacturing industry and 11 per cent in the primary industries, agriculture, forestry and fisheries.

800,000 or 73 per cent of employees receiving personnel education during the first half of 1987 received training organised by their own employers. The second-largest group of organisers comprised "other companies", while educational companies and consultants did not provide more than 2 per cent of educational imputs.

The private sector has a total personnel strength of 2,327,000, of whom 548,000 or 24 per cent took part in personnel training during the spring of 1987. Total expenditure on personnel training can only be estimated. Various observers put it at more than MSEK 20,000.

2.8 Trade union education

2.8.1 A Background

The trade unions maintain a large volume of educational activities, primarily for their elected officials. This training covers trade union and social affairs, its aim being to enable members and officials to learn on an individual basis so that, together, they will be able to defend and improve their rights at work. Studies must confer knowledge and ideas which will enable the participants to contribute towards a transformation of society in keeping with the objectives of the trade union organisation concerned.

The two main union organisations, the Swedish Trades Union Confederation (LO) and the Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees (TCO), collaborate closely with the adult education associations, viz LO with the Workers' Educational Association (ABF) and TCO with the Salaried Employees' Educational Association (TBV).

The commonest form of education is the study circle, but short-cycle residential courses are frequently organised at Folk high schools or at residential training centres owned by the unions themselves. Local, regional and central educational activities have been developed into wall-to-wall systems of increasingly sophisticated education alternating with practical activity in various trade union capacities.

In all trade union education, most of the training of individual officials is financed in such a way that it takes place during paid working hours, under a special enactment on the status of union officials. In cases where this Shop Stewards Act is not applicable, trade union scholarships are awarded. Educational expenditure is covered by means of a State grant, amounting at present, (1988/89 fiscal year) to some MSEK 40, and partly out of union funds.

2.8.2 LO education

LO's aim is to provide basic trade union education for all members at all workplaces. In addition, union officials need advanced recurrent training in order to be able to safeguard union members' interests at work.

LO and its affiliated national federations have a coordinated system of training courses on two levels: Basic and further training levels. Basic training is usually provided by the local union organisation in study circle form or as a short-cycle course lasting for 1.3 days. Further training usually takes the form of a central, residential course lasting 1-3 weeks.

In 1987 some 180,000 LO members took part in study circles arranged by the trade union organisations. Roughly 100,000 took part in short-cycle courses. Central LO course activities in 1987 involved nearly 7,000 participants, divided between the following courses:

General further trade union education	1,371
Work environment	823
Company management questions	1,101
Co-determination questions	1,184
International courses	139
Training of officials	306
Training of supervisors	368
SSU (The Social Democratic Youth of Sweden)	161
Information to schools	147
Other courses	1,201

Expenditure on central courses in 1987 totalled some MSEK 53. The State grant for the 1987/88 fiscal year was MSEK 26,3.

2.8.3 TCO education

At central level, TCO provides training in socio-political and general trade-union subjects for officials and employees of affiliated federations and TCO itself. This training takes the form of residential courses lasting for between 2 and 5 days/one week, and participants are recruited nationwide.

Central training is organised for four target groups: employees of organisations within the salaried workers' movement, elected representatives within these organisations, elected representatives holding TCO appointments within regional public agencies, and other categories, eg. teachers of social subjects and student members.

During 1988 some 60 courses, varying in duration between 5 weeks and one day, were organised for these groups, with a total of some 1,300 participants. The first three groups attend courses during paid working hours, or else their expenses are met out of trade union scholarships. Tuition and travel expenses for the remainder are borne by the TCO.

Educational expenditure for 1989 is estimated at upwards of MSEK 9 and is covered out of TCO funds, State grants, direct charges and other grants.

In addition to TCO central courses, a variety of courses are organised by the various TCO-affiliated federations.

2.8.4 SACO/SR education

SACO/SR operates central trade union education in two sectors: Training of officials at local and central levels, and training of employees from SACO/SR secretariats and federation secretariats.

This group receives training referring primarily to current SACO/SR policies and issues.

The training of union officials can be classified as functional training and includes subjects such as co-determination, pay talks, security issues, work environment issues and local union activities.

Central training programmes normally last for 1.5 days. During 1988, upwards of 3,000 union officials received trade union education through these courses.

Most of the officials receive their trade union education through their own federations. The total number of trainees per annum varies between 12,000 and 17,000 officials. The total number of trained officials is between 15,000 and 20,000 approximately, which is 5-7 per cent of total membership.

Expenditure on central activities totals MSEK 6 per annum.

2.9 Education enterprises

Sweden has a large number of education enterprises. Several of these offer not only education but also consulting activities and information technology services. According to data published in the journal Ledarskap (no. 1.2 from February 1988) sales by the 100 largest educational enterprises in 1987 totalled MSEK 1,300. Ledarskap's data, however, do not include educational institutes providing education for manual workers. The education companies too are very much concerned with the training of senior executives.

In size, education companies vary from those providing more than 300,000 training-days annually down to those with upwards of 100 training-days a year.

About 40 per cent of the courses provided are management training, in one form or another. The education companies are a heterogeneous sector, and a rapidly changing one. The 100 largest companies listed by Ledarskap expanded in 1987 by 13 per cent, including 7 per cent volumetrically. Growth, however, is very unevenly distributed. The fastest-growing companies are those offering customised in-house courses for management.

The education companies, however, account for a relatively small share of the total volume of educational activities in enterprise. Various surveys have indicated that only 15-20 per cent of this volume is provided by outside educational organisations.

To convey a picture of the market for the education companies, we have chosen to give a brief description of 3 of the largest ones:

Svenska ManagementGruppen AB, (Swedish ManagementGroup), Sällma utveckling AB (Sällma development cooperation)and the National Institute for Corporate Development (SIFU).

The ManagementGroup, which is owned by the Swedish Employers' Confederation, had 36,900 trainee days in 1987. According to its own prospectus, Mgruppen combines elements of both traditional educational methodology and consulting methods. Its courses are planned in close collaboration with the customer.

Among other things the prospectus includes management and leadership training, training in company management and finance for small business, production development, sales training, financial training and personal development.

Most courses last for one or three days, but there are also longer courses of one to five weeks' duration. Mgruppen has three conference facilities of its own - Skogshem, Wijk and Yxtaholm - and it publishes its own journal, Utbildningstidningen.

Sällma Utveckling is a member of the Sällma Group, which apart from the education company also includes companies specialising in recruitment, marketing questions, advertising, retail development etc.

Sällma Utveckling specialises in consultation and education in the fields of business development, leadership development, marketing and sales. Sällma organised 36,000 trainee days in 1987.

SIFU is a State-owned foundation with the task of improving the strength and development capacity of small and medium enterprises, mainly by means of in-service training activities.

SIFU's concentrates on the subject fields of technology, economics and law. Five out of six departments are concerned with technical in-service and further education, viz Building and Administration, Heating, Ventilation, Sanitation-Energy-Environment, Industrial Technology, Electronics and Computer Technology, Electric Power Technology, and Business Economics.

During 1986/87, SIFU conducted 1,142 educational activities. There were 16,500 participants in open activities, 40 per cent of them from medium and small businesses and 30 per cent from larger concerns.

2.10 Study assistance

In order for the educational opportunities offered to adults to be put to actual use, there must be adequate systems of educational finance. As has already been made clear, all national and municipal education in Sweden is free of charge. Folk High school too is free of charge, while the adult education associations make a small charge for most of their study circles. The cost of board and lodging and other expenses while studying have to be borne by the individual personally.

The overwhelming proportion of all social benefits for students are channelled through the national system. This is divided into

three main parts: a system of grants (study assistance) for younger students at upper secondary level, a study assistance system, mainly comprising a system of loans for post-secondary studies and for mature students at upper secondary level, and a system of adult study assistance for educationally disadvantaged adults. The provisions governing student benefits are codified in a special Study Assistance Act (1973:349).

Study assistance ("loan-grant assistance") and adult study assistance can be briefly described as follows.

Study assistance comprises a grant, currently about SEK 1,550, and a loan of about SEK 3,700 per month. These payments are index-adjusted and intended to finance one person's full-time studies. In other words, they are intended to cover necessary living expenses. Study assistance is needs-tested with reference to the student's income but with no regard to that of his/her parents or spouse. This support is primarily intended for post-secondary students but it is also paid to students aged 20 or over who are attending upper secondary education or studying at folk high school. The maximum age limit for study assistance is 45 years, but in practice these benefits can be awarded to persons aged up to 55.

Adult study assistance consists of a special adult study assistance payment for long-term studies, eg. in komvux or folk high school, and short-term study assistance for study circles for short-cycle folk high school courses. The more long-term form of assistance consists mainly of a grant and is payable with reference to previous income. The short-term study assistance is computed on an hourly basis, the current rate being SEK 50 for each hour's loss of earnings entailed by educational activities. There is also a residential grant to cover the cost of board and lodging at folk high school. These benefits are applied for on a competitive basis, priority being given to applicants with low previous education, long work experience and genuine financial need. Only about half of the eligible applicants can actually receive adult study assistance.

Adult study assistance is financed by means of a special adult education charge paid by all employers. The number of awards made every year depends on the proceeds of this charge.

Funds derived from the adult education charge are also devoted to activation measures by trade union organisations at workplaces. Adult education assistance payments are distributed by regional boards, known as county adult education boards, the governing bodies of which comprise trade union and political representatives.

An hourly benefit of SEK 50, to cover loss of earnings, is payable for basic adult education (grundvux) and basic Swedish language instruction for immigrants.

The state grant for social benefits for students during the 1988/89 fiscal year totals MSEK 5,800.

2.11 Educational leave

Employees in Sweden have been entitled by law to educational leave since 1975. The right to educational leave is distinguished from entitlement to financial compensation. This means that, once educational leave has been awarded, the employee must either obtain compensation for loss of earnings by special agreement with the employer or else apply for financial compensation through the social benefits which the community offers to students.

The Educational Leave Act came into force on 1st January 1975 and applies to all employees, both in the private and public sectors and in both large and small enterprises.

The Act entitles an employee to leave of absence if he or she has been working for the same employer for the past 6 months or for a total of 12 months in the past 2 years. The employee is entitled to trade union education regardless of standing.

The choice of study programme rests entirely with the individual; neither the employer nor the trade union organisation can give priority to persons opting for study programmes rated important from the viewpoint of company or union. Nor are there any restrictions on the duration of studies. Self-studies as such, however, do not come within the purview of the Act.

The employer has certain possibilities of deferring this leave of absence. Deferment by more than 6 months, however, is subject to consent from the local union organisation. The trade union has priority over the interpretation in disputes relating to the Educational Leave Act.

The Act does not lay down any rules concerning employment benefits during educational leave. No pay or other financial benefits are guaranteed, in other words. On the other hand, there are job security rules applying to persons exercising their right to leave of absence. The Act also includes provisions concerning the right of a person wishing to discontinue his studies to return to work.

There are no up-to-date figures concerning numbers of persons availing themselves of the Educational Leave Act, but according to the last labour force survey, an average of 42,000 persons in the total labour force are absent at any given time for educational reasons.

2.12 Mapping the educational landscape - concluding remarks

Some of the introductory remarks in this chapter focused on a number of methodological problems and challenges presented by comparative studies. The various parts of this chapter are good illustrations of the fact that comparative studies could also present problems in a national perspective. The availability of common indicators to describe the different fields of the educational landscape is still beyond good practice in educational planning. One of the explanations is, of course, that the incentives and motivation for describing and evaluating educa-

tional initiatives vary between different providers. Another contributory factor is to be found in the increasing goal-orientation and decentralisation of adult education.

Not surprisingly, it is easier to describe those forms of adult education which rely on governmental support than various non-formal and also informal programmes initiated by employers or other market interests. Resource allocation through public expenditures can also be used as a method of influencing documentation and evaluation. One of the most significant problems of this study has been to describe the reality behind the figures of an almost explosive development of in-service training and staff-development programmes. There is a strong need of better methods and more reliable information in the description of the new development of corporate classrooms and innovations of workplace adult learning. This challenge is not made easier by the fact that few employers in the public or private sector have good pictures of and accurate information on the volume, content and costs of their educational programmes.

In a deeper sense, there is also the question of how the phenomenon of workplace-related adult learning is defined. One seemingly contradictory choice of in-service training and staff-development programmes for executives is if the employees should be sent to education or courses individually or in groups or if the strategy is to develop learning organisations or learning enterprises. Sometimes the idea of learning organisations seem to be used as an educational chameleon to solve all problems, including the need for good indicators and reliable statistics. The increasing stress on learning organisations does not, however, diminish the need for good descriptions. On the contrary, these ideas call for alternative and more qualitative methods.

Thus, there is a great need to supplement the overall statistically based picture with good qualitative descriptions of local cases and interesting models of practice. The so-called development programmes under the auspices of the Swedish Work Environment Fund and in collaboration with trade unions and employers are a good example in this respect.

One of the most challenging issues not dealt with so far is how the equality of opportunity and the redistributive objectives are met in the notion of learning organisations. There are not so many, if any empirical studies on how the educational needs of different groups are met within the context of a learning organisation. It seems likely, however, that the educational process within a learning organisation does not start from scratch. You need good educational standards and social competence in order to be admitted in the team at the workplace. These informal "entrance requirements" might reject certain groups with low self-confidence and short prior education.

Furthermore, in order to create a new setting of learning at the workplace, it is necessary with a conscious job-construction that facilitates and stimulates the individual employee's learning and development. Today, we still have a long way to go before these ideals are realised in working life at large. If the notion of learning organisations are used without changes in work organisa-

tion and job-definition, the consequences will be more of lip-service than educational impact.

SECTION III

WHAT FACTORS INFLUENCE PROVISION AND PARTICIPATION IN FURTHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF THE LABOUR FORCE

3.1 Why do adults participate in adult education?

The question in our heading may seem simple, but it provides the opening to a very extensive volume of research over the past two or three decades. In recent years the opposite question, why certain adults do not go in for education, has attracted no less an amount of interest on the part of researchers. The answers to these questions can be looked for both in more general macro-research and in power structures in society - social, economic and geographical impediments to adult educational activity - as well as the individual person's own learning attitudes and decision-making processes.

When an adult citizen begins to study, this is not the manifestation of an impulse but, in most cases, the outcome of a prolonged decision-making and elective process. Sometimes the activity may come as a result of the individual's own initiative, as the expression of a growing appetite for knowledge, but more often than not it is a matter of necessity and practical benefit, occasioned by external factors. Persons taking part in employment training are unemployed or on the point of losing their jobs. This is making education virtually compulsory and destined to become an increasingly vital prerequisite for re-entry into the labour market. Participation in credential education such as grundvux (adult basic education) and komvux (municipal adult education) is based more on free choice, but is more often than not a necessary means of supplementing basic skills or obtaining formal qualifications for further studies.

Popular education is characterised by the watchwords "free and voluntary", underlining its independence of State-controlled curricula and its nature of studies for the personal development of the individual or collective. The same goes for individual self-studies and everyday learning, the motives for which may be personal development, wider horizons or practical skills in everyday life.

This bird's eye view demonstrates the virtual impossibility of isolating the factors influencing adult persons' opportunities for educational activity and independent knowledge acquisition. Educational impediments and conditions vary a great deal from one kind of adult education to another, ranging from full-time, daytime study via part-time evening classes to short-cycle courses or study circles. One fundamental prerequisite of participation, however, is the subjective needs and learning attitudes of the individual adult.

Adult education, like alcoholism, may be said to incorporate a habit-forming factor. The longer the education a person has received, the more likelihood there is of him or her responding to opportunities for further study. Educational level and educational participation, therefore, are closely correlated.

Here we have a dilemma of distributive policy, in that the neediest groups in the community are those least disposed of their own accord to demand or avail themselves of education. Sometimes adult education is said to operate by the "Matthew principle", i.e. "for unto every one that hath shall be given,..-...."

The structure and content of supply, therefore, are likely to affect demand. Perhaps one could speak of a "supply and demand spiral". The greater the supply, the more likelihood there is of the individual being confronted with opportunities of continuing study. At the same time supply tends to be focused by the market mechanism on groups with "purchasing power", the reference here being not only to economic factors - apropos of which it is important to point out that most general adult education in Sweden is free of charge - but also to the availability of social and political resources in a more general sense.

At the beginning of this chapter we emphasised that inducements for adult education can be viewed in two completely different perspectives. Firstly, there is cause to deepen our knowledge from a participant perspective, emphasising open and hidden educational impediments, available educational supply and learning conditions. Secondly, the problem can be analysed in a perspective of institutional control, focusing on the political, administrative-organisational and market-oriented factors influencing the prospects of adult learning and knowledge acquisition. In a profounder sense we are concerned here with the factors governing the educational and organisational infrastructure en route towards a learning society.

Some determinants of adult education participation

Where the first perspective is concerned, the following factors are among the main prerequisites of a high and increasing disposition to education:

i) The general level of education in the country and its social and age-related structure have a critical bearing on participation. The higher the educational level, the stronger the disposition to study. This aspect is elaborated below with reference to the concept of the new education gap.

ii) The organisational and content-related structure of education supply sets the frames for participation. The regional distribution of adult education was considered in our previous chapter. An abundant supply including combinations of longer and shorter study programmes with elements of phases and modules expands opportunities for educational activity. Distance teaching combined with new technology (databases, interactive video, telefax etc.) also has the effect of expanding learning opportunities.

iii) Admission requirements are another limiting factor in education. Is the educational programme open to all comers. Are there special admission requirements? What are the terms of selection when there are more applicants than places available? Are there compensatory strategies for adults with brief schooling? General adult education in Sweden in the form of grundvux

and komvux is open to all members of the community. Popular education used to be addressed primarily to the members of the popular movements themselves, but has been open to the general public since the beginning of the 1950s. Corporate education is addressed to employees looked on by their employer as relevant target groups.

iv) Social and economic impediments are crucial to educational opportunities for adults. In the introductory chapters, special emphasis was put on the importance of educational leave and finance. Later on in the present chapter we will be quoting some Swedish research in this field. Although no charges are payable for grundvux and komvux studies, for employment training or for higher education, these activities impose a very heavy economic burden on adults, especially parents with young children. Only a small proportion of adults with short-term education behind them can obtain special adult study assistance, which in any case does not provide full compensation for loss of earnings. The majority are forced to borrow money through national study assistance, thereby incurring a heavy debt to the State which they have to pay off later in life.

v) Psychological impediments and adult attitudes to learning cannot be viewed in isolation from social and economic impediments and previous educational level. Several studies have shown that previous school attitudes, poor self-confidence and tedious jobs with no developmental requirements cause many adults - especially those who attended earlier types of school - to take very little interest in studies or to acquire directly negative attitudes towards education and learning. These findings underline the need for a positive social climate, elements of self-confidence training and easy induction for groups with no previous experience of adult studies.

In this connection, perhaps the importance of educational information and guidance should also be underlined. The prospects of combining personal counselling with the consultation of databases on courses and educational opportunities appear to be promising. Experience of outreach activities at workplaces and in housing areas also points to the need for active recruitment measures as a means of reaching out to under-educated adults.

vi) Of course, the criterion of effective participation cannot stop short at the question of which people embark on an educational programme; it should also reflect the balance between educational achievement and the discontinuation of studies. This makes it appropriate to highlight the importance of adjusting the learning situation to the needs, social environment and previous development of the adults concerned. To strengthen and further develop an adult-pedagogical approach, we need both basic and subsequent training for teachers of adults and adult-pedagogic development work.

Questions of quality in adult education are acquiring new prominence now that more and more educational activity is being attached to the workplace, and also in the wake of the expansion of personnel education. What is the pedagogical background of teachers in working life, how are teaching materials being

developed, what influence are participants allowed to wield and what are the procedures for evaluation and quality control?

Some of these questions will be considered in greater depth in the pages which now follow. Special attention will be paid to the importance of educational level for participation, the prospects of counteracting impediments to education through organisation reforms, and a number of different pedagogical organisational views of learning conditions for adults.

3.2 Educational level of adults in Sweden with special reference to priority groups

In the objectives laid down for the adult education reforms of the 1970s, pride of place was given to distributive aspects. Society aims not only to offer people whose previous education has been short an opportunity, in adult life, of supplementing it but also, through active measures such as outreach activities, to make sure that this opportunity contains genuine substance.

In 1985 Sune Ahlén, an investigator appointed by the Government, presented a report containing an evaluation of the reforms of the 1970s (DsU 1985:10). From this reform one can see which people have actually derived benefit from the heavy expansion of Swedish adult education and, what is perhaps more important, which people have been left behind.

The educational pattern

The proportion of the population taking part in adult education has, obviously, increased following the great reforms of the 1970s. On the other hand the gap between the short-term and long-term educated has hardly diminished at all. Despite the very clear distributive aims of the reforms, the fact still remains, ten years after their implementation, that, the higher a person's formal education is, the more often that person takes part in some form of adult education. Roughly speaking, the figures are as follows:

- Of those with not more than nine years' education, upwards of 20% take part.

- Of those with some form of upper secondary education, more than 40% take part.

- Of those with post-secondary education, more than 60% take part.

This pattern is not unambiguous where different forms of adult education are concerned. In corporate education, salaried employees predominate, while manual workers constitute a majority in trade union education. Study circles and employment training recruit a larger proportion of short-term educated than other forms of adult education. Generally speaking, adult education is more common in big cities than in rural communities, but this difference applies above all to corporate education. Other forms of adult education are fairly evenly distributed in the geographical sense.

In 1988 the NBE made a study of the distribution of education to different age cohorts from 1960 up to the year 2010 (See figure below). This study does not only show the decline of older cohorts with shorter education, but also the relative growth of young and well-educated entrants to the labour market. During the same period the proportion of the population with three year's or more post-compulsory schooling rises from a modest 6% in 1960, via 31% in 1986 to 43% at the end of the period.

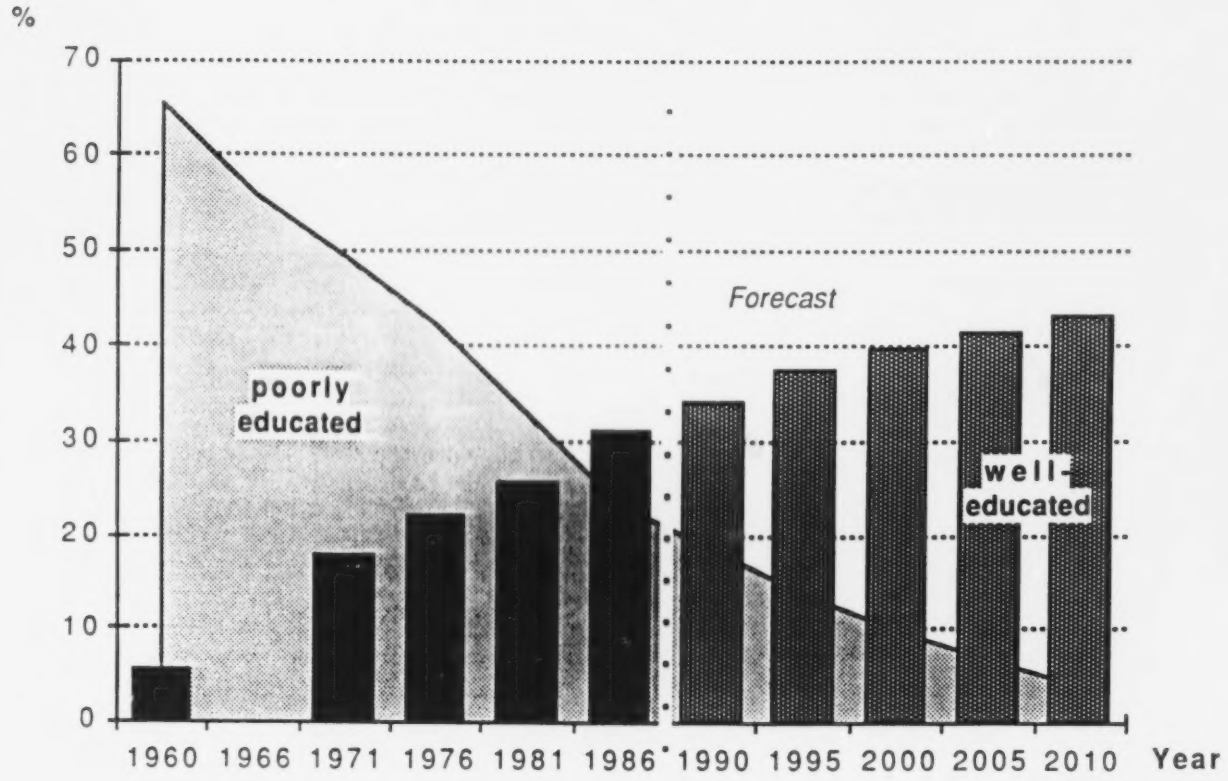


Figure 6. Proportions of poorly educated and well-educated adults in Sweden (in percent; 1960-1986 registred development, 1990-2010 forecast).

According to figures from SCB (Statistics Sweden) concerning the level of education in the labour force in 1987, 19% had received less than nine years' basic education, 12% nine years, 12% less than one year's upper secondary education, 21% not more than two years' upper secondary education and 13% three years' upper secondary education. More than 30% of the labour force, then, have not received more than the equivalent of compulsory schooling. Of this group, 41% belong to the LO (manual workers) sector.

The group with only seven years' elementary schooling is diminishing rapidly, but other groups are still being added with serious deficiencies in their basic education. The current international debate on adult illiteracy reports that between 10-20% of the labour force could in many Western countries could be regarded as functionally illiterate. There are no recent Swedish studies, but an informed guess would imply a lower figure.

Another "treshold criterion" is the percentage of young individuals, who each year pass through compulsory school without acquiring sufficient command of reading, writing and arithmetic. Less than one percent of a cohort leaves the formal school without final graduation. Unfortunately, there is no accurate statistical documentation on the literacy level of young individuals finishing compulsory schooling. A number of young persons curtail their schooling, for various reasons, at both compulsory school and upper secondary level. Many immigrants coming to Sweden have received very inadequate education in their countries of origin.

Many people whose previous education has been short, have, of course, acquired, at work or in the community, knowledge and experience which more than offset the deficiencies of their youth education. Knowledge can be acquired in many ways, at work, through trade union or political activity, in voluntary organisations, through leisure interests and hobby activities, through self-studies etc. At the same, both working life and the increasing complexity of social life make heavy demands on citizens' knowledge and their capacity for learning new things. Subsequent and further education mostly require basic qualifications. This makes it necessary for very large groups to be given an opportunity of simply and readily supplementing their knowledge, above all in general subjects such as Swedish, English, mathematics and civics.

Corporate education and competence ceiling

As has already been made clear, corporate education is the most unevenly distributed form of adult education from an egalitarian point of view. Fransson (1989) has made a special study of the educational situation of unskilled workers in jobs without training requirements. In the PRIVUX project (Larsson et al 1986) an interview survey was conducted of directors of studies at fifty or more companies in the west of Sweden with a total of 55,000 manual employees. It was found that companies invariably took a very narrow view of the educational needs of unskilled employees. Only one out of every ten workers in the companies investigated had received more than a week's subsequent training. The niggardly attitude taken by employers to investment of corporate education resources in short-term education for the

educationally most disadvantaged are, according to the survey, met with great understanding by the undereducated themselves. Many undereducated persons have jobs with low competent ceilings. They very quickly acquire the skills required for their routine tasks. Only if they see an opportunity of promotion to more demanding duties or if they plan to change jobs, do they see any point in devoting time and energy to education.

Fransson refers to paramedics, caretakers, telecommunications employees, certain categories of automotive employees, postal employees, security personnel and certain shipyard and engineering workers as examples of occupational groups which have had better access than others to the educational opportunities provided by their employers.

Education has in certain cases become a mean of enhancing job satisfaction, counteracting high absenteeism and high personnel turnover and improving the recruitment situation. It is of course no coincidence that interest in this type of personnel education has increased in recent years, concurrently with a shortage of labour.

The group which is employed on unskilled jobs, does not receive any education at work and is not motivated for attaining education off the job. It may come to find itself at a very serious disadvantage as a result of changes in the employment situation. When these persons become unemployed, they have difficulty in finding new jobs and they do not have the basic skills for admission to a vocational education programme which would enhance their employment prospects.

A number of positive examples from industry show that good results can be obtained with relatively small inputs as regards motivating under-educated manual workers for basic studies during working hours. Money from renewal funds, for example, has been applied to educational purposes of this kind.

The studies carried out at the Department of Education, University of Gothenburg, have shown that under-educated, poorly motivated persons should be recruited for education on a group basis. The studies should be of a certain duration and regularity and should be integrated with the regular working week.

Rejection from the labour market

One group which is disturbingly large and growing all the time consists of persons suffering musculo skeletal injuries and other work injuries, often due to deficiencies of the working environment, and sicklisted for long period or retired on permanent disability pensions. Reported work injuries totalled 15,300 in 1980 and 18,000 in 1987 (source: Riksdag och Departement 1988-:40). Work injuries, long-term sick listing and permanent disability pensions in 1987 involved a total expenditure of MSEK 37,000.

During 1987 there were 334,000 persons receiving permanent or temporary disability pensions. About 43,000 persons were employed on State wage subsidies, i.e. in jobs where the employer receives a grant towards wage costs or else on special sheltered work.

It is to a great extent the under-educated who have the jobs involving most risk of work injury. The policy of people being entitled to employment and thus to opportunities of retraining and further education means heavy demands on the expansion of basic education for the under-educated. The main focus of such an effort must not be on volumetric growth. The content of this education also needs to be scrutinised and brought more closely into line with the experience and conditions of working life.

3.3 Educational level and societal change - some research perspectives

The general question concerning factors influencing the educational participation of adults is a highly complex one and, in the present connection, can only be answered in general terms. In the NBE research programme and in other Swedish research, it is being treated in a variety of theoretical perspectives and with various empirical approaches, some of which can be illustrated as follows.

Dimension 1: The educational expansion

For several years now, studies of the role of educational expansion in Sweden have been in progress, in which a search is being made for both descriptions and explanations of the process which, during the past half-century has doubled the proportion of young persons and adults in education. In a study by Murray (1988), the Swedish expansion policy has been analysed step by step on the way to the present-education system. Other studies, such as that by Ohlsson & Broomé (1988) on the so called "age-shock" have dealt with the interaction of cyclical fluctuations, labour demand, educational requirements and grading.

It is impossible, therefore, in the present connection, to describe in any great detail the interplay between public policy, changing qualification requirements in working life, and demographic shifts. Generally speaking, however, the reasons for the internationally large proportion of adult students in Sweden are to be sought not only in the thoroughgoing adult education reforms of the 1970s but also in the educational expansion in the broader sense.

The foremost indicator of adult education participation and study activity remains number of years in formal education. It is also obvious that we have here a distinct generation gap between those groups of adults whose educational experience emanates from the old school system, and those who have received modern compulsory schooling and education at upper secondary level.

Dimension 2:. The new educational gap

To counteract increasing gaps in education and knowledge between different generations and different groups in society, such as men and women, Swedes and immigrants, is a central element of Swedish educational policy. In a couple of books from the NBE's research programme, these questions

have been discussed in greater detail, e.g. with reference to the term the new education gap. These studies are reported by Abrahamsson& Rubenson (eds. 1986), and Abrahamsson (ed. 1988).

The notion of the "new education gap" refers to the difference in adult persons' educational opportunities and life chances depending on when and in what educational system they laid the foundations of their school experience. The new educational gap is described schematically in the following four points.

i. A general elevation of educational standards in Sweden.

As a result of the expansion and development of upper secondary schooling within corporate education, we are moving towards a general elevation of the general level of education in Sweden. This change is not typical of the 90s alone but is a characteristic of the entire post-war period. For example, the proportion of members of the labour force with upper secondary school qualifications virtually doubled between the beginning of the 1970s and the mid-1980s. Today, in the 1980s, we have distinct indications of a heavy expansion of corporate education.

ii. Increased polarisation above the average education level

Above the average level of education, there are great risks of a polarisation between different groups. There are several forces operating in this direction, not least the growing market influence in adult education and corporate education, where expensive consultants can customise costly education programmes for groups which are already well off.

Furthermore, there are signs of a growing gap between those who are in work and those who are not. To this must be added the influence of specialisation and professionalisation.

Another social condition which can lead to greater polarisation is a growing regional imbalance resulting from the creation of knowledge-intensive and active communicative environments in a few cities, a matter which, for example, has been debated in Sweden the last years.

iii. New groups lagging behind

The remaining group of genuinely undereducated persons will gradually diminish, but at the same time it will become more and more difficult to reach.

Furthermore, the group previously designated the ability reserve is diminishing, now that opportunities of basic schooling and continuing upper secondary schooling are available throughout the country. On the other hand, we have growing indications of a new group, comprising young persons who - in spite almost twelve years' schooling - still have a deficient command of basic skills, communication skills or are characterised by diffuse identity and homelessness. In

future, therefore the "priority groups" will be identifiable, not only in terms of number of years' education but also from deficiencies in their actual knowledge.

iv. Growth of non-occupational educational needs.

Finally we have a growing group of elderly persons, due to increased longevity and a more active post-retirement life style. This, coupled with reductions of working hours, is leading to a growing need for non-credential adult education. In this particular respect, the education gap can be characterised not only by social stratification, but also by lack of contact and deficient cognitive links between the generations.

Defining the education gap, then, is a problem in its own right. In the first place, one has to emphasise that, in every social organisation, past or present, there is a certain division of labour which, of itself, is conducive to a particular division of knowledge. In a modern welfare state with wall-to-wall social security and scope for social mobility and career changes, there will obviously be a more or less functional division into tasks, networks and organisations, something which in itself generates gaps.

Dimension 3: Studies of of Adult Education Reforms

For a couple of decades now, internationally well-integrated research has been in progress in Sweden concerning the educational opportunities of young persons and adults and their chances in life. In this field too, there are several different theoretical and research-methodological approaches. There now exist, for example, several individual data bases in Sweden which facilitate long-term follow-ups of the life lines and educational routes of different groups.

Incidentally, one of these data bases, known as the "Malmö Survey" celebrated its fiftieth anniversary a year or so ago. A recent follow up of this material has been reported by Tuijnman(1989). An interesting supplement to these longitudinal studies of age groups is provided by a growing number of qualitative studies of different people's life careers, educational conditions and educational routes. Most studies in this field so far have concentrated on the importance of adult studies to women.

In addition, mention should be made of the several studies undertaken to identify institutional and other impediments to adult studies for different priority groups. An overview of this research is provided Abrahamsson& Rubenson eds. (1986). There is nothing new about the distribution of educational background and educational opportunities differing as between different groups, but on the other hand there are various explanations for this. Larsson (1986) for example states:

"Under-educated persons lack education and therefore attain jobs which do not require skills. Their jobs, therefore, are frequently of such a kind that no knowledge can be derived

from them and no demand for knowledge either. Since the under-educated have a narrow and instrumental view of education, they do not feel in need of vocational education unless their work demands it."

(Larsson et al. 1986, p.145)

Both Svensson (1986) and Lundquist (1986) show in their studies that social conditions for education have an outstandingly important bearing on adult education participation. At upper secondary level, study assistance is an important influence on groups coming from families without a strong educational tradition. Where adult education is concerned, short-term support or adult study assistance for more long-term studies has an important task to play for under-educated groups. The problem has been not so much the accurate targeting of study assistance as its limited scope.

Summing up, study assistance and educational leave can be termed basic prerequisites for the extension of educational opportunities to under-educated adults and, even if these instruments alone do not help to reduce the education gaps, they do guarantee that social stratification will not be accentuated.

In a more general assessment, Rubenson (1986) discusses why the reforms of the 1970s did not achieve the impact that had been hoped for. One of his principal theses is that the state of government finance changed during the second half of the 1970s, with the result that the intended resources never really materialised.

In connection with the previously mentioned report (Ds U 1985:10), adult education came under heavy fire from various quarters, mainly because it had failed to bridge the education gaps. These negative comments point to the difficulties of interpreting the outcome of the reform. Somewhat simplified, the statements can be described as follows:

What is lacking is an assessment of the conditions which prevailed and the realism of the objectives in relation to those conditions. Thus the outcome ought, according to Rubenson, to be assessed with reference to the following facts:

> The 1975 reform was not a starting point but rather an end point of the bid for a distributive reform.
>
> Adult study assistance did not acquire anything like the scope recommended in the official reports.
>
> This education is voluntary.
>
> The research literature makes it quite clear that preparedness to take part is very unevenly distributed in the population and this is connected with current situation in life, socialisation during the life cycle and the rules laid down by society for the distribution of education.

The "under-educated" group is getting older all the time and, partly for this reason, is more difficult to recruit.

Given the "reality" described above, it would be absurd to expect an adult education based to a great extent on self-education to be capable of counteracting the education gaps created during people's formative years. Devaluations which have been made show, moreover, that no palpable distributive change has taken place and that unacceptable differences remain.

3.4 Organisational and Educational responses to barriers of learning

The possibilities of increasing adult participation in education ought thus to be viewed in relation both to the social conditions of education in a broader sense and to the pedagogical and organisational inputs which are feasible. It is quite obvious, that many determinant of participation aare to be found outside the educational system. It could be social segregation society, cultural traditions in families or selective mechanisms within the years of prior schooling. The methods shown below are those, which to some extent are within reach for educational planners and practioners.

i) Improving the educational organisation

Longer study programmes could be broken up and made pedagogically more accessible to adults with short previous education. The phase or staging approach of municipal adult education (komvux) is one embryo of such a view, as are directional measures in popular education. Modular planning is also used in labour market education. A general principle directing adult education initiatives in Sweden, is that the individual should chose his or her own combination of courses and not necessarily complete a full degree.

ii) Improving the adult pedagogy

Here we find various working methods of adult pedagogics, designed to allow for the needs and situation of the under-educated. This incorporates the idea of active participation in designing the content and structure of education, in which connection it must be borne in mind that adults lacking educational experience often have difficulty in themselves influencing the content and organisation of studies. It is important, therefore, to take into account the educational maturity of the adult and to let influence be a support, not an impediment, to more systematic learning.

iii) Improving Study Assistance and Outreach Activities

Most research hitherto has shown that questions concerning social benefits for students have an outstandingly important bearing on adult educational participation. This applies both to opportunities of day time study and to the conditions attaching to longer study projects on a full-time and part-time basis. Although adult study assistance alone does not constitute the decisive lever in distributive thinking, it is obvious that the gaps would have been widened if Government and Parliament had not made the investments represented by the study assistance reforms. What is also needed is an active outreach scheme coupled with relevant information, so as to expand the educational opportunities open to the under educated.

iv) Improving the links between work and learning

Experience from the PRIVUX project, as well as other research into the renewal of working life, has shown that problems of work organisation and job design have a crucial bearing on the emergent educational interest of the individual and also on the subsequent prospects of actively utilising the knowledge which education confers.

One of the challenges of adult education for the 90s is to develop more attractive combinations of external provision of adult education, in-service training and on-the-job-learning initiatives. This challenge calls for a joint venture between public provision of adult education, customised training and the educational initiatives in the hands of the parties on the market. Of crucial importance in this context, is the active interplay between public provision supported by legislation and corporate solutions as a result of negotiations between the parties.

A systematic strategy for counteracting the new education gap for the 1990s must take all these different levels into account. The term recurrent education is a collective designation for this kind of strategy.

3.5 Institutional mechanisms influencing the determinants of adult participation

By tradition, Swedish adult education has developed at the point of intersection of three different forces: political decisions, popular movements and market institutions. During the first half of this century, popular education took the form of popular movements and non-government organisations. From the mid-1960s onwards, a number of policy decisions were made with the aim of establishing educational leave for all, improving educational finance and introducing grundvux and komvux. In addition, successive changes were made to labour market training, folk high schools and study circles. Today corporate education is expanding and the introduction of commissioned education is making

possible a more flexible interaction between general adult education and corporate education.

As regards the decision-making process, however, it should be emphasised that adult education in Sweden, unlike many other countries, has been strongly policy driven, i.e. Government and Parliament have taken the initiative in supporting both the free and voluntary popular education as credential adult education. The strongest policy control occurs in labour market training (AMU) which is also the most expensive form of adult education (per capita in terms of both educational expenditure and social benefits).

Taking a bird's eye view of the Swedish education system, we find that its forces operate with different degrees of intensity in different sectors. Compulsory schooling is to a great extent governed by institutional forms created by national and local authorities. Upper secondary school occupies the point of intersection between national and local government interests on the one hand and the needs of the economy and industry on the other. Adult education and popular education operate in an even larger field. Part of this education, viz. municipal adult education (komvux) and labour market training (AMU) is controlled by the State within various organisational frameworks. The growing body of corporate education is to a great extent controlled by industry and enterprise, and also by the public sector qua employer. Popular education is sustained by ideological organisations and, in principal, operates freely and independently of national authority control.

This interplay of forces can be summed up in the following matrix:

	Official Control Nat. & Local Authorities	Market Control Economy & Industry	Popular Movement Control Ideological movements & organisations
Compulsory school	X		
Upper secondary school	X	X	
Adult Education	X	X	X

It is in the adult education and popular education that a more composite pattern of control can be analysed with the greatest consistency. It is possible there to speak of alternative forms of production, since these activities occur in all three columns of the matrix. Adult education also provides scope for more flexible study-organisation solutions, since, unlike compulsory school pupils and upper secondary school students, the participants do not always have to take a complete study programme. The

system of phases and modules therefore facilitates individualised combinations of education, vocation, vocational experience and other skills.

It is also in adult education that one can most intensively discuss the education to be given within the public sector framework and in other forms, e.g. as commissioned education. The recent discussion concerning the conceivable effects of the renewal funds, as well as the question of the practical workings of commissioned education, has added new aspects to this problem. Our knowledge concerning national and municipal adult education, and of popular education as well, is relatively good today. On the other hand, corporate education is in many respects unexplored territory.

Space will not permit a more detailed description of the institutional patterns of the organisational superstructure characterising the content and frames of adult education. General characteristics, however, include far-reaching sectorialisation between different educational fields, an increasing decentralisation of the decision-making organisation and difficulties in linking together different inputs to form a single entity in the individual person's educational situation.

In a decentralised administration, the regional and municipal levels take on additional importance. At the same time the situation may seem fragmented from the viewpoint of the individual, because he or she has to approach different agencies in order to get time off from work, apply for study assistance, apply for education and perhaps too make childminding arrangements. Decentralisation also has implications from the viewpoint of resource allocation. Decisions concerning the distribution of State funding to grundvux, komvux, adult education associations and folk high schools are made in the Riksdag, in response to Government proposals and documentation supplied by the NBE.

The allocation of the moneys voted is then decided by the national authority, acting in consultation with regional bodies. A similar procedure is also employed by other authorities within the education sector. The aim at present is to change from a one-year budget to a three-year budgeting cycle, so as to improve the continuity and long-term perspective of planning.

By introducing management by objectives in conjunction with more advanced follow-up and quality control, a change is being effected from more earmarked to generalised allocations. The general course is plotted at national level, while solutions of method are chosen at local level. Decentralisation and the greater assumption of responsibility locally are expected to lead to better utilisation of resources. At the same time there is cause to observe what happens to the distributive objectives in a decentralised pattern of decision-making powerfully influenced by market mechanisms.

3.6 Responsibility for adult education - apportionment of costs

A discussion is under progress in Sweden as to where responsibility for adult education is to be located and who is to be

financially responsible for it. Three funding sources are usually discussed:

* society, (the State and/or municipalities)
* employers (or industry/enterprise)
* individual persons

The following general principles can be said to apply in Sweden today:

1. Society is responsible for all education of young persons up to the point where they enter the employment sector. It is therefore in the nature of things that society will be responsible for basic vocational education. This being so, society should also assume responsibility for adult education at corresponding levels. In principal, society is responsible for the education of the unemployed.

2. Employers are responsible for subsequent and further education of their employees within their occupation or occupational field. Employers also bear the cost of all educational inputs necessitated by organisational changes. Public educational inputs are always insufficient from one or other point of view, and contributions from the employer should therefore also be accepted in the field for which society is basically responsible.

3. Individual persons themselves should be able to bear the full cost or part of the cost of education above a basic level if it is primarily they themselves who derive benefit or gratification from it. In addition, individual persons should be able, at their own expense, to participate in educational activities of the kind which, basically, society or employers should be responsible for.

Although the above principles are accepted in Sweden, there are many exceptions and points of uncertainty regarding the apportionment of responsibilities. One illuminating example is that the community bears the full cost, social benefits included, of the training of the armed services and the police, whereas caring sector employees and pre-school teachers have to provide their own social benefits during training.

Nor is the apportionment of responsibilities between the State, Municipalities and County Councils entirely clear cut or uncontroversial. By tradition, the State provides most of all education in point 1, above, and contributes to a great deal of the education mentioned in point 2. In cases where the municipalities are primarily responsible for providing education, as for example in the case of komvux, the State makes grants which, in principal, have to cover the cost of teachers' salaries plus various other items of expenditure. Accordingly, when the State, in an effort to curb expenditure, reduces its grants for schools, this immediately creates problems for the municipalities.

It has also been argued in the current debate in Sweden that employers should finance all education for their employees. Strict implementation of this principal would probably lead to substantial changes in the conditions governing the training of prospective public employees and, probably, to a substantial rise in costs.

The biggest problem attaching to this kind of policy, however, is that the individual personally would lose a great deal of his or her educational self-determination. The final decision as to which education is useful and valuable would be made by somebody else and, of course, great allowance would have to be made for the needs of the company where the individual was employed. Not even if decisions were made on a democratic basis and with a great deal of influence wielded by the trade unions would this situation be without its problems, due not least to corporate training being the most unevenly distributed form of adult education from an egalitarian viewpoint.

Sweden has thus come to the conclusion that, in addition to providing educational opportunities in general subjects, society must also be able to offer adult vocational education which does not focus on a particular workplace.

3.7 To influence volume, content and participation in adult education - concluding remarks

The review undertaken in this chapter has shown participation in adult education to be governed by a number of institutional, social and psychological factors. To be able to condition these factors, a long-term development strategy will be needed in which supply is gradually broadened and various impediments to education eliminated. Occasional inputs of a campaign character may sometimes do more harm than good, because they are liable to inspire adults with expectations which cannot be fulfilled in practice. Other critical factors concern the magnitude of the resources provided by the community, popular movements, employers and the individual himself.

Most countries today are faced with an adverse budgeting situation of priority revisions and spending cuts. If adult education is to hold its own against other sectors of society, greater and more widespread confidence will be needed in its capabilities and the importance of its mission in society. For this reason, the political formation of opinion at national level and an active debate at regional and municipal levels are an absolute precondition for the expansion of adult education. In addition, greater awareness is needed concerning the importance of personnel education and development, not only within the larger companies but also on the part of small and medium firms.

SECTION IV.

THE MARKET FOR FURTHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF ADULTS

4.1 The different facets of the educational market

One can, if one so wishes, speak in terms of education markets in Sweden, even though adult education is mainly controlled by politicians and provided under public auspices. Since the reform of labour market training, public adult education has in effect come to comprise a hybrid of market and funding control.

The market control practised implies a segregation of financial resources from the educational mandators - producers - and their allocation to the consumers, i.e. the people demanding education, which in the case of employment training means the labour market authorities in the overwhelming majority of instances.

Market control, then, does not necessarily imply a privatisation of education; the market can be established on public terms.

Adult education in Sweden has a variety of mandators or producers and a wide, comprehensive group of consumers: individuals, groups. popular movements, organisations and companies.

At a hearing conducted by the Ministry of Education in Stockholm in April 1989, prior to the compilation of this report, Magnus Söderström, an educational researcher at Uppsala University, divided educational mandators into five different categories:

1. Educational mandators organising commissioned education. This group includes general adult education, komvux (municipal adult education), the adult education associations, higher education, folk high school and employment training (AMU).

2. Open educational mandators, i.e. education enterprises addressing themselves to an open market. Mgruppen, SIFU and SIPU - described earlier in this report - can be looked on as open mandators of this kind.

3. Semi-open educational mandators. This category comprises a group of educational enterprises arranging education for a particular group or groups. They include the Vår Gård educational activities for the consumer co-operative movement, IFU, which conducts personnel training on behalf of the insurance companies, and the Savings Banks University.

4. In-house education. A very large proportion of personnel education in Sweden is organised by companies themselves, sometimes assisted by outside consultants or experts.

5. Consulting enterprises. There are a number of such enterprises offering adult education.

4.2 Market adjustment

Personnel education has expanded very heavily in the 1980s. At the same time as this type of education has attracted growing interest on the part of public agencies. Opportunities have been created for national and State-subsidised adult education to provide commissioned education. The boundaries of personnel education are becoming more and more fluid. General adult education is addressing itself, via commissioned education, to companies and the government service, and the open and semi-open educational enterprises are expanding their markets so as to include individuals and groups.

Steeply rising demands are thus being made on the flexibility of education and its adjustment to the needs of industry and the labour market.

Where general adult education is concerned, the State is responsible for curricular content but at the same time emphasis is laid on the necessity of collaborating with industry. Understandably, this collaboration means most in the case of vocational education programmes. For study programmes of this kind at upper secondary school level there are local vocational committees and voluntary, mostly bipartite industrial committees.

The Bill for a re-organisation of vocational upper secondary schooling, debated by the Riksdag in the spring of 1988, proposed the attachment of local vocational committees, comprising representatives of the relevant labour market organisations, to every vocational line (i.e. study programme) of upper secondary school.

An experimental scheme of three-year vocational lines of upper secondary school was inaugurated in the autumn of 1989. Most of the additional study time will be devoted to workplace training. The local vocational committees have an important part to play in ensuring that students at workplaces are given primarily training, not productive employment.

The labour market parties are represented in curricular groups at central level.

In the long run the new upper secondary school will also have an impact on vocational studies within municipal adult education.

4.3 Changes in labour market training

Labour market training (AMU), described previously, presents the closest adjustment to the market and the closest links with working life. AMU has been extensively re-organised during the 1980s, and the special AMU Board set up in that connection has been given wider discretion in the purchase and sale of vocationally relevant adult education.

The basic idea underlying the organisation is that of closer adjustment to the market. No AMU centre should produce its own education if somebody else can do the job equally well and more

cheaply, and AMU centres must be at liberty to purchase training from national, municipal or private educational mandators, at market-level prices. A portion of employment training constitutes support to employers for in-house training as a means of countering labour-market problems. This can apply, for example, to bottleneck situations, i.e. shortages of skilled labour, to potential redundancy situations, to structural changes and to situations involving an unequal balance between the sexes.

4.4 New policies for commissioned adult education

Commissioned education is a relatively new element in Swedish education policy.

Initially it was universities and colleges that were given the opportunity of selling education on a commercial basis. During the 1980s, similar opportunities have been opened up for general adult education as well. A statutory amendment has made it possible for komvux, folk high schools and the adult education associations to sell general or customised education to companies, organisations and other interests, always provided that the education thus provided is fully paid for by the customer and in no measure State-subsidised. Nor may commissioned education detract from the availability or development of normal educational activities.

Commissioned education can give educational mandators an incentive for renewing their educational amenities, responding more adequately to the market and streamlining their activities. At the same time there is some risk of a less desirable effect: concentration of educational output on the commercially viable. An educational mandator can find it much more attractive to organise a market-oriented course which will pay off handsomely than to organise a basic Swedish language course for a group of immigrants. It can be easier for an adult education association to run popular, fast-selling courses for wide-ranging groups than to conduct outreach activities aimed at recruiting educationally disadvantaged, poorly motivated groups for basic education programmes. There is some cause for apprehension of commissioned education and the possibility of commercialising educational output having detrimental consequences from the viewpoint of the individuals and groups to whom adult education is required by the official goals to give priority.

Commissioned education is such a novel phenomenon that no in-depth evaluations have yet been presented. A number of evaluative projects are in progress, however. Recent studies show a rapid expansion in municipal adult education, labour market training and two or three study circle associations.

4.5 Adult learning impact of the renewal funds

The renewal funds were introduced in the autumn of 1984. The idea of legislation forcing profit-making companies to make transfers to statutory "renewal funds" for education and development was prompted by the Government's anti-inflation programme. Real earnings had fallen and the substantial improvement in

corporate profits made it hard to restrain a wage growth which bade fair to fuel inflation. The renewal funds were an attempt by the Government to give employees a share in corporate profits without inflationary consequences.

The proposal finally adopted required companies with profits for 1985 exceeding SEK 500,000 to transfer 10 per cent to a special fund, the balance of which is tax-exempt if applied within five years to personnel education, research and development. Withdrawals from the funds are conditional on consensus between the labour market parties at local level.

Total transfers to these funds are estimated at 4½-5 000 MSEK.

Studies hitherto of the utilisation of the funds indicate that roughly half the money (49%) is being spent on research and development and somewhat less than the other half (43%) on personnel education. At a rough estimate, MSEK 500 annually is being spent on education over the five-year period. This is perhaps 5 per cent of the total personnel education bill.

One company in ten has renewal funds, but most of them are relatively small and 80 per cent of the total value of the funds is located with the 15 per cent of Swedish companies - most of them industrial concerns - ranking as large or medium. The Swedish Center for Working Life has got a government commission to make a study of the implementation, evaluation and distribution of the renewal funds. The final report is expected to be available before the summer of 1990.

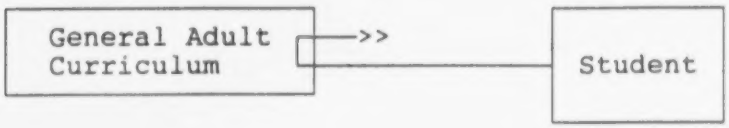
The Swedish Metal Workers' Union has made a study on the educational priorities at the local union level. The result shows that the unions gave a high priority to basic knowledge (Swedish, English and Math./60%), while only 8% of the employers stressed basic skills. Instead, half of the employers underlined the need for vocational training, which only got 26% support from the unions. Thus, there seems to be a strong tension at the local level on what kind of educational programmes that should be taken care of within the renewal funds. Further empirical documentation on these issues will be presented next year by the Working Life Center study (Eriksson&Nilsson, 1989)

4.6 A New Institutional Pattern of Adult Education

Roughly speaking, it is possible to differentiate between school-based and work-based adult education. What determines whether or not a certain programme is to be defined as personnel training is whether or not it is partly or fully employer-subsidized. Therefore certain general courses within municipal adult education programmes can be defined for some groups as being a part of personnel training. However the relationship between general adult education and in-service training or personnel training acquires new aspects as a result of the introduction of more commissioned or sponsored education.

This relationship can be expressed schematically in several ways - such as models that in turn refer to an overall concept of cooperative education. One must try within this context to see how the various combinations can serve to support both active and

productive vocational training. In doing so, more flexible combinations of courses are created as a result of more commissioned education. The traditional pattern is that an adult enrols in adult education by the support of vocational motivation.

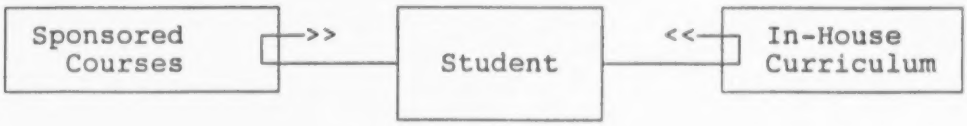


Model 1: Personnel Training as Part of a General Curriculum

An individual is recommended by his employer to take part in certain courses within a general adult curriculum. (This should take place on company time in order to be considered personnel training.)

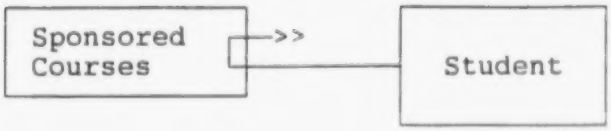
Model 2: Company-Oriented Programme of Studies

Certain courses offered by adult education facilities are part of a company's own programme of studies. (A company has developed its own model for interaction between general adult education, personnel training and vocational training.)



Model 3: Supplementary Sponsored Courses

A company purchases a supplementary programme of studies as a complement to its own in-house training. (In this way the cost of education is passed on from the public to the private sector.)



Model 4: Specially Designed Sponsored Courses

A company purchases a specially designed curriculum, made for specific employee needs.

Model 5: In-House Personnel Training

A company does all personnel training on its own and with the help of other consultants.

The above-mentioned situations are a few of the different ways in which an individual can take part in adult education programmes, i.e. through in-house training, through public adult education facilities or through various organisations or associations. The outlining of these situations poses at least two questions. The first question is how these new forms of contact and new networks will function as far as renewal funding is concerned.

The other question has to do with which aspects of vocational training are the most important in new study programmes that are formed as a result of cooperation between various schools, organisations and companies. Sponsored study programmes can undoubtedly act as a stimulus to research and development concerning teaching and teacher training, practical and theoretical exercises, course material and the use of technical equipment.

Special attention should be directed towards interspersing theoretical exercises with practical on-the-job experience. Attention should also be paid to developing special assistance to adults with little or no experience in studying and those with a low measure of self-confidence. As far as a policy of of redistribution is concerned it is therefore important to ensure that these programmes also benefit those who do not have good study habits and skills.

The new institutional pattern created by the increasing use of commissioned education has been reported recently in two Swedish studies (Holmström&Lundmark, 1989 and Nilsson, 1989). Special attention has been paid to the different contexts of commissioned education in labour market training, municipal adult education

and within popular adult education. Recent assessments show a seemingly rapid expansion of commissioned education within upper secondary education and municipal adult education corresponding 900 full time employed adult teachers per year. Also within labour market training, there is a strong expansion of commissioned or sponsored programmes of learning.

Furthermore, the study gives some examples of how different providers of adult education collaborate at the municipal level. Finally, it reflects some of the main policy issues of balancing different objectives in a more market oriented educational climate (general education vs vocational education, top-level strategies vs bottom-level approaches and the issue of equality of opportunity, concentration of provision of course to bigger cities vs stronger regional balance etc..).

4.7 Agreements on the labour market

In the private sector, an Efficiency and Participation Agreement (UVA) was concluded in 1982 by the Swedish Employers' Confederation (SAF), the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) and the Federation of Salaried Employees in Industry and Services (PTK). This is an outline agreement dealing with training and information for employees with reference to three fields of development: work organisation, technology and economic affairs. The latest central collective agreement between the parties recommends further deliberations at industrial level. Both agreements have been followed by accords between the parties in most sectors of industry, and also in certain cases by agreements at local level.

The sectorial accords include, for instance, those signed in 1988 by the Swedish Engineering Employers' Association (VF), the Swedish Union of Clerical and Technical Employees in Industry (SIF), the Swedish Association of Supervisors (SALF), the Association of Graduate Engineers (CF) and the Swedish Metal Workers' Union. These agreements include generally formulated clauses to the effect that the parties at local level are to join forces in creating good opportunities for employees to cope with new demands on their skills and qualifications. The parties have also set up "the Engineering Industry Competence Board", whose tasks include observing and analysing competence requirements in the industry and on this basis bringing pressure to bear with regard to the dimensioning of public education.

In the municipal and county council sector, personnel education forms the subject of an appendix to the Co-determination Agreement. Using the frames defined in this agreement, the parties have subsequently arrived at local agreements for individual municipalities and county council areas.

The LO unions have concluded several agreements dealing, in various ways, with educational questions. Central or local education agreements have been signed by 16 national federations. An equal number of unions have signed development and participation agreements, while 12 unions have co-determination agreements dealing with matters of personnel education. The agreements on work environment education apply to 20 of the 24 national federations affiliated to LO, and there are eight other agreements or accords on educational subjects.

Local development accords accompanied by educational agreements can be instanced by the agreement between the Swedish Paper Workers' Union and Norrsundet Bruks AB, which lays down that "Educational activities are to be looked on as an investment in the company's prime resource - the personnel". Educational activities are to be aimed at:

* Giving newly hired employees a general introduction in compliance with a predefined programme.
* Giving newly hired and relocated employees introductory training appropriate to their impending duties.
* Compiling an inventory of the educational needs of previously hired personnel and, in the light of this inventory and within predefined frames, offering appropriate educational activities.
* Drawing up educational plans.
* Arranging educational activities.
* Following up and auditing educational results.

A special Education Committee, with union representatives in the majority, has been set up partly in order to define educational objectives, educational policies and educational plans and to encourage joint consultations on educational matters between the responsible executives and educational participants.

4.8 Viewpoints of the parties on the labour market

Both sides in the Swedish labour market agree that competence development at work is going to be one of the big issues of the nineties.

A deliberate strategy of competence development, i.e. up-skilling, is needed to develop the competitive power of the Swedish economy but also to prevent a more knowledge-intensive working life creating new gaps between and within various groups in the labour market.

The principal aim of competence development at work is to strengthen the position of the individual in the labour market. This is a matter of common interest to the union organisations, employers and the community at large.

Divergent interests do not become apparent until the discussion turns to the distribution and funding of education and development.

The Swedish Trade Union Confederation

On the strength of its own surveys and those conducted by others, LO has established that its affiliated unions are receiving the smallest share of the growing resources devoted to personnel education.

This makes it natural for LO to argue that more education must be given to those who have received least.

In a current draft programme of personnel education, a specially appointed group within LO, presents and defines its demands on employers and the community as follows:

> Personnel education must be designed so as to meet objectives of the individual, society and working life.
>
> To the individual, personnel education must offer job security and the prospect of independent, developmental duties. It must also contribute towards achieving the aim of giving every adult access to good basic education.
>
> Personnel education must be provided for the entire duration of employment. This will reduce the amount of retraining needed in connection with job changes or unemployment. In this way personnel education can help to achieve the labour movement's aims of full employment and jobs for everybody.
>
> Personnel education must contribute towards furthering the aims of economic policy. A properly educated workforce will make possible the maintenance of full employment and a high economic growth rate. A consistently high education standard will facilitate the equal distribution of living standards and the achievement of regional balance within the country. It will also endow Swedish with competitive advantages in relation to other countries.
>
> Within working life, personnel education must contribute towards efficient production of goods or services.
>
> Given these objectives, the Study Group recommends that personnel education in future be organised on the following lines.
>
> o All employees to be entitled to a certain annual renewal of their vocational competence in the form of personnel education. This personnel education to be an individual right, amounting to not less than two weeks annually. Employees to be allowed to aggregate their education entitlement from year to year. Entitlement to the renewal of vocational competence should be governed by a central agreement.
>
> o Employees lacking compulsory and/or upper secondary school qualifications in Swedish, mathematics, English and civics to be given the right of acquiring those qualifications during working hours, without any loss of benefits. This aspect of personnel education is the joint responsibility of working life and the community.
>
> To finance education at compulsory and/or upper secondary school level, the community should contribute resources on the same scale as are now being received by young persons

within the compulsory school system. Other expenses should be defrayed by means of a special payroll levy. These resources should be administered by a central foundation.

The education is to be conducted on a commissioned basis. When a certain employee undergoes compulsory and/or upper secondary school education in the above mentioned subjects, the employer will be reimbursed for tuition and wage costs.

The implementation of this section of the Study Group's proposals will call for legislation.

The Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees (TCO)

At its last Congress, in June 1989, TCO adopted a new programme of adult education and personnel education.

The new programme is based on the theme of "Our knowledge fashions the future of Sweden" and, in itself, is a succinct presentation of the demands axiomatically made by Sweden's powerful trade union movement on employers and the community.

TCO defines its demands as follows:

As a result of the increased knowledge and competence required in the labour market, heavy demands are being made on adult education. But there must be more to adult education than the training of the labour force. Adult education must also help to develop and reinforce general civic knowledge, added to which it has an important part to play in the personal development of the individual and in the abundance of cultural life.

Universal opportunities of recurrent education are essential in order for the education gaps in society to be successfully reduced. TCO therefore demands a new adult education reform, one of the main elements in that reform being a form of adult study assistance which will correspond more adequately to students' needs than is at present the case.

"The knowledge possessed by employees is playing a progressively more important part in working life, at the same time as growing emphasis is being put on diversity and flexibility. Activities at the workplace are the employer's responsibility, and this includes personnel development-. So too, accordingly, is the financing of personnel education. Trade union influence on both the distribution and the content of such education, however, is vital. That influence must be defined through collective agreements, according to the conditions prevailing in different fields of collective bargaining.

Guarantees must be provided for the reservation of sufficient resources for personnel education. The Renewal Funds Act was a step in the right direction, but this Act only applies to large and highly profitable enterprises. A more comprehensive system is needed to ensure adequate funding of

both the private and the public sector and of both large and small workplaces. A form of public support is needed which will encourage investments in personnel education, from which it follows that the development of personnel education calls not only for collective agreements but also for legislation.

All employees must have the opportunity of developing their competence. A reasonable scale of training, in TCO's view, is at least two weeks annually. It goes without saying, however, that actual needs are several times greater in many cases. A trade union view of learning at work implies support for the individual members' desires for development, both at the workplace and outside it. Education will probably constitute a large proportion of these development inputs, and it is essential that the education system should be equal to the demands which an expansion of personnel education will entail."

The Swedish Employer's Confederation (SAF)

SAF (the Employers' Confederation) has long argued that education is inseparable from economic life in general. There is, the argument goes, a clear connection between education investments, productivity improvements and economic growth. The aggregate competence of employees and the development of that competence are a matter of vital corporate interest. This was very clearly brought out, for example, at SAF's last congress both by representatives of the organisation itself and by company spokesmen.

The prospects of companies developing the confidence of their personnel are based on the availability of employees with good basic qualifications and basic skills combined with a fundamental vocational knowledge. In various connections, therefore, SAF has given its blessing to both youth and adult education making contributions in these respects.

SAF also observes that companies are investing heavily in competence development. During the 1980s especially, there has clearly been a steep growth of interest and investment in education and personnel development. Co-operation with the trade unions has also grown in volume and importance. One manifestation of that co-operation is the collective agreements which are beginning to materialise on matters of personnel development and which have already been described earlier in this section.

In the matter of official statistics on education and educational spending, SAF draws attention to the difficulty of qualifying the competence-development process at work in companies. The picture conveyed by SCB Statistics according to SAF, is restricted to organised educational inputs.

SAF maintains that personnel education has been discussed excessively in terms of numbers of days and hours or the amount of expenditure per person taking part in organised education during paid working hours. This, in SAF's view, does not reflect the true input for developing the competence of the economically active population. Above all, no allowance is made for the

working hours devoted to learning, e.g. through managers, supervisory staff, experienced colleagues and instructors or through job rotation.

The main educational problem today, in SAF's view, is the inefficiency of the traditional forms of education and the preemption of a large proportion of competence development funding by compensatory payments for loss of earnings, travel, subsistence allowances and residential expenses connected with education. At a rough estimate, one-third of expenditure comprises direct educational costs, the remainder going on the above mentioned overheads. This, in SAF's view, is an utterly absurd pattern of expenditure in relation to the needs which most observers anticipate in the future.

The role of the community in adult education, as SAF sees it, is to provide basic skills, to develop people into democratic citizens and to support cultural development. The main responsibility for competence development should be vested in enterprise. The community should avoid legislation on the sector of adult education which is concerned with developing competence at work. The role of the parties in the labour market is to sustain the quality of educational inputs and to interest individuals in developing their knowledge.

One difference between the respective views of SAF and the union organisations where educational questions are concerned is that SAF heavily emphasises that the scope and content of the personnel education financed by industry must bear a direct relation to production and its immediate and future needs, whereas the union organisations also stress the right of the individual to develop mental opportunities and the more distributive aspects of competence development.

SAF rejects the type of construction represented by renewal funds, wage-earner funds, work environment funds, profit confiscations and increases in payroll levies. In SAF's opinion this type of legislation seriously threatens the existence of companies and, accordingly, the job security of their employees. Company measures to develop the competence of their employees should be encouraged instead of being inhibited by bureaucratic legislation, SAF argues, e.g. in its comments on the official report (DsU 1985:10) entitled Adult Education, the reforms of the 1970s - an evaluation.

Employers thus show an increasing but variable interest in questions of personnel education. SAF has not yet, however, drawn up a programme on the subject.

4.9 Increased market orientation and/or stronger public intervention - some concluding remarks

The very rapid growth of personnel education in the Swedish economy has been partly due to the increasing importance of the knowledge and competence of the labour force as a strategic factor of production and as competitive asset.

The supply of education for adults and the number of agencies providing it are increasing, and in vocational eduction especially, de facto markets have developed in which both private and public educational mandators are active.

As is clear, not least, from the viewpoints expressed by the labour market parties, one of the great challenges of the 1990s will be to devise a system of continuous further education for all employees in both the private and the public sectors.

Thus there is a substantial demand for education. Whether that demand will be met within a more market-oriented system appears, judging from the current Swedish debate, to be more a question of aptitude than of principle.

Apart from the claims presented by the labour market parties with regard to the development of competence in working life, society can be ascribed a number of special motives regarding further education for employees.

* In a situation where the labour shortage above all concerns skilled labour, education and competence will alleviate the problems, helping to restrain inflation and stabilise the national economy.

* More stimulating and advanced duties will enhance employees' involvement in their work and, hopefully, enhance national productivity as well.

* To facilitate the replacement of degrading, deleterious jobs by others which are healthy and stimulating, education will be needed as a kind of bridge leading away from the inferior jobs to the better ones. In this way education can have the effect of spurring structural change on the conditions defined by knowledge production, as well as promoting a renewal of work organisation conducive to more qualified vocational roles.

* Competence development at work can be expected to give women opportunities for a fresh start following periods of child care and to favour the equality of women and men in the labour market.

* Extra educational measures in vulnerable regions can play an important part in the inter-regional equalisation of living standards.

These various societal motives for investing in competence development at work are accentuated by the fact that diminishing numbers of young persons will be entering the employment sector in the 1990s, the average age of the work force will rise, women's employment participation rate will catch up with men's and the Swedish labour force will, to all intents and purposes, be fully mobilised.

Sweden may well find itself the first country in the 1990s to attain the Utopian condition of the entire population being in work.

Conserving and educating the country's labour force will then be a matter of economic necessity.

SECTION V

THE LEARNING SOCIETY AS A TERRITORY FOR RESEARCH AND INTERNATIONAL COMPARISION - A LIST OF VIEWS AND PROBLEMS

5.1 Some issues of further inquiry and discussion

The purpose of this final chapter is to list some fields and problems where there are growing needs for more knowledge and information. Some of these problems are dealt with in two reports published by the Swedish National Board of Education in collaboration with the Swedish National Board of Universities and Colleges (See Implementing Recurrent Education in Sweden. On Reform Strategies of Swedish Adult and Higher Education, NBE-report 1988:8 and Adults in the Academy. International Trends in Adult and Higher Education,NBE-report 1988:38) The need for a comparative view is also reflected in a recently published report on a set of joint seminars between Sweden, the USA and Canada (see Adult Learning, Work and Citizenship, NBE-report 1989:25). The general comments and the list of research problem presented below can be seen as additional remarks to what is said in these reports.

Comparative approaches and the analyses of the cultural context of learning are not only a cross-national mission. They are just as important in a national context. We tend to describe the different institutions of adult learning as seemingly similar phenomena, dressed in conventional costumes of figures and statistics. In order to avoid the risk of an oversimplified comparative model, it is necessary to pay more attention to the cultural context and value-systems of different institutions of adult education.

This methodological challenge tends to be more crucial in the study of non-formal adult education such as learning organisations or learning enterprises, where the reinforcement of an enterprise culture and the employees' identification with the business idea and production goals are as important as the upgrading of skills and knowledge.

Another challenge of comparative study concerns the assessment of the volume and variety of the provision of learning options. Access to Swedish adult and higher education could be labelled "fifty-fifty" , Abrahamsson (1989). More than fifty per cent of the labour force participate in some kind of organised learning activity during a single year and slightly more than 50 per cent in higher education are above 25 years of age. The intensity of the student activity covers a broad span from a few evening meetings in a study circle to full-time studies in labour market training or degree programme in higher education.

Another criterion would be percentage of working time used for learning or learning costs through governmental investments, employers or the adult learners themselves. Not surprisingly, few countries if any, could provide accurate statistical documentation on these issues. Better information is needed if we want to compare policies of recurrent education and educational leave

of absence with policies of learning enterprises with focus on learning time.

Furthermore, it will be more complicated to describe the images and institutional pattern of adult education and learning as the borderlines between different providers tend to be more blurred (Cross, 1988). The Swedish case represents a sectorialised institutional structure with a distinction between popular adult education, formal adult education and vocational adult education, while other countries are developing more comprehensive models of adult education such as the community college or the polytechnic. Drawing a map of the education and training of the labour force, it is, of course, of the outmost interest to illuminate and clarify new institutional patterns at the workplace such as corporate classrooms and learning enterprises.

Learning rights between policy intervention and market influence

Comparative descriptions could also be done from different levels or positions in the educational system such as the images of politicians and policy-makers, planners and administrators, teachers and students as well as employers and the local community. To what extent is the notion of a learning society shared by the public or by common people in their everyday life?

In this study, special attention has been focussed on what factors that influence the provision and participation of learning options for adults. Social recruitment and barriers to learning are traditional fields of adult education research (Cross 1981). An overall picture of the outcome of the Swedish reforms of adult education during the seventies was presented in a report to the Government in 1985 and followed by special studies presented in Abrahamsson&Rubenson (1986, ed.)

Traditional approaches on obstacles to adult learning have to be supplemented by policy oriented studies on the social limits of learning and the creation of good learning settings on the workplace or in everyday life. If a work or life-situation is characterised by a low competence ceiling and no space for self-initiatives and participation, it seems likely that there would very little or no growth of positive learning attitudes.

A contradictory assumption would be that over-restrictive learning contexts enhance the use of escape doors as change of jobs or new careers. Swedish studies in this field shows a strong generation and education gap in the use of these ways of adaptation. Young employees with modern education tend to be short-timers, while older workers with a low educational standard stay to the bitter end.

To what extent can this inequality of educational provision and the neglect of learning attitudes be changed through good policies and efficient implementation? What are the limits to public intervention and to what extent can the market mechanisms be used as facilitators for better learning options? Considering the great mix of political, organisational and financial interests surrounding this question, it seems extremly difficult to develop a pure empirical model to test this question. At a deeper level,

it concerns fundamental societal values and political ideologies reflected by words as man, state and market.

Still it is possible to describe how different countries guarantee their citizens learning rights through the life span. Educational leave of absence as well as an efficient system of study finance are, of course, cornerstones in this respect. Should all citizens get a time-check for paid learning as a drawing right through the life span? If so, how much time and who pays? And how should these policies be related to the need for parental leave, health insurance and the demand for increasing vacation time? In Sweden current time-policies give priority to an expanded parental leave and more vacation on the expense of shorter working days or more learning time.

That does not mean the issue of the distribution of learning time through the life-span has left the political agenda. It has been raised by the two main trade unions, LO and TCO from different perspectives and also in the Social Democratic Party's report on priorities for the 90s. A recent report from the Swedish TUC suggests that all employees should be given the right to two weeks in-service training each year. This right should be written into central agreements between the parties on the labour markek.

Furthermore the TUC proposed that all employees who have no secondary and/or uppoer secondary education in Swedish, English and mathematics and social sciences should be entitled to attend courses in this field. The participation should take place during working hours without loss of income. The costs,implemen- tation and impact of such a reform would be a large field of research and evaluation in itself. And as everybody knows, there is always a long way to go between grand educational ideas, accepted policies of education, allocated money and other resources and other conditions for a succesful policy implementation.

It is obvious that the institutional networks and forms of influence of adult education will be even more important in the coming knowledge-intensive society.

In a future perspective, it is not only interesting to describe what factors that are warming up or cooling down the policy process on adult education and learning. It is just as important to find indicators of performance showing to what extent learning options and outcomes are increasing or decreasing for different social groups. In a more market oriented context for adult learning, the role of compensatory policies will be more crucial. Should the government or other public intersts define and also support the idea of a minimal level of basic skills and a core of civic knowledge for everybody? If so, how could this idea recognise the prior learning and experiences of adults and not depend on subject knowledge from the formal school system?

In addition to the design of good learning settings there is an increasing need to develop efficient forms of credit acumulation and transfer in a situation where adult learning is moving out from the classroom to the workplace or into the seemingly nice social climate of learning enterprises.

This is an even more demanding issue in the context of the development of the European community and an expanding mobilisation of labour between different countries. Thus, there is a close link between credit acumulation and language skill. The educational challenge of immigrants is not only reflected by the upgrading undereducated people, but also by the need to make good use of the prior learning of the great numbers of over-educated immigrants.

5.2 Additional list of problems for further study

Without going into details, our educational future will also acompanied with a growing need:

to describe and analyse the structure and inherent contradictions of objectives of recurrent education, lifelong learning and learning enterprise

to develop better theories and methods of describing the social limits of adult learning by identifying different kinds of learning barriers and social, financial and structural determinants of those barriers

to develop methods and good practices in the recognition of prior learning among adults also how these learning profiles could be used in different adult educartion settings

to supplement the indicators of performance for formal educational insitutions with useful criteria and assessment procedures for non-formal institutions such as corporate classrooms or learning enterprises

to identify and describe the infrastructure of the learning society by looking at how new learning settings are created through social transformation and the use of new technology both in distance education and in information processing and distribution as such

to identify and analyse the learning outcome of non-educational policies and find better methods of describing how different societal sectors "collaborate or oppose each other" as seen from a learning perspective

to analyse the need for general competence elevation seen from both an internal and external labour market position

to describe the balance in investments, programmes and educational impact of employers' sponsored education programmes and labour market training and other forms of work-related learning organised through public influence and expenditures

to describe the cognitive thresholds of learning in a life-span perspective and within the notion of the age-shock and shortage of young labour

to describe how changes in life transitions and learning are created as a part of the social transformation of society (i.e. family pattern and divorce rates, day-care and schooling, women

participation in the labour force, an ageing population and the growing need for care-taking institutions etc)

to focus on teaching and learning with adults from an experiential point of view, in search of good learning settings and a supportive social context for studies and development.

5.3. The right to work and the right to learn - joint policy ideals towards a learning society

One important factor explaining the high level of employment and the low level of unemployment in Sweden is the capacity for uniting the demands of prodcution for flexibility with those of the individual for security.

Sweden's active labour market policy is aimed at uniting these demands, and hitherto the focus of attention has been on the external labour market. Individual demands for security have to a great extent concerned the risks of overt unemployment entailed by changes in production.

More and more interest is now focusing on the internal labour markets and the need of individual employees for security in an employment sector which is making progressively heavier demands on knowledge and competence.

This makes competence development a central instrument of active labour market policy and, ambitiously designed, it can mean a radical renewal of policy for structural change and improved productivity throughout the Swedish economy. Thus, public inputs are needed for the sake of employment. Universal employment is the foremost objective of Sweden's economic policy.

This is also an important objective from the viewpoint of education and competence development, for reasons pointed out by the American economist Alfred S. Eichner (Challenge/May-June 1988):

> "The amount of employment being generated is the single most significant factor determining the rate at which new skills and competences are being added by the labour force, and thus the single most significant factor determining the society's longrun potential growth rate."
>
> "The rate at which employment opportunities are being generated is certainly more critical to the process of acquiring skills than all the sums spent on educaion and other forms of training."
>
> "This is because the supply of and the demand for manpower, rather than being independent of one another, are in fact highly interdependent. The proof of this is the greater growth of skills and competences from on-the-job training when the economy is expanding more rapidly."

Taking this perspective into consideration, it is no surprise that labour market policies and educational policies have to be joint ventures towards a learning society. Furthermore, it is no surprise that the Swedish trade unions have taken an active role

in defining important roles for adult education and learning as well as the need for a growth of the learning sector as such. Both LO and TCO have recently contributed to the public debate by suggestions concerening the future development of recurrent education in Sweden.

In conclusion one can say that, in spite of financial restrictions in the public sector, the discussion of a future strategy for Swedish adult and continuing education is just about to move into a more intensive and challenging period.

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